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JULY, 1883.

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Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.

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No. CCCXX.

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DYNAMITE AS A FACTOR IN CIVILIZATION.

ATTEMPTS to subvert existing institutions by violence have been sufficiently frequent in the past to afford some basis for judging as to their course and issue; and the use in our time of the new and mighty enginery of destruction which modern science has furnished is not new in its spirit, or aim, or probable results. The sources of the danger which now threatens are not new, and are not in the dynamite itself. It is not in the weapon, but in the hands which use it; and not in these, but in the hearts which direct them that the real peril is to be found. The choices of men are the root of the whole trouble; and its future bearings will only be seen in the motives hereafter most likely to prevail in human purposes.

It is quite clear at the outset—human nature remaining as it is—that political problems are not likely to be solved by force and fear alone. This can be said without any loss of the potency which these agencies undoubtedly exercise. There is a sphere of human life in which force reigns as manifestly as in any department of nature. A man feels pain and fears it—a feeling and a fear not lessened, but rather increased, by increasing intelligence. The superior intelligence which gives a man more skill to shun danger makes him also more keenly sensitive to

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its presence. A man takes precautions against perils which give an animal no concern. A civilized man apprehends dangers which the savage never sees. Hence the application of force and the apprehension of danger are not likely to lose their influence on human conduct in the coming civilization.

When, however, force is employed there is resistance. Force meets force. Its use by a government to put down opposition, or by an opposition to overthrow a government, meets a counteracting force in an issue which can only be decided by the greater. But when the greater force has triumphed, it is not thereby dominant. "Force and right," says Joubert, "rule all things in the world; force before right arrives"; but right has already arrived when men have come. It is ever present, and with an authority which does not come from fear. It springs from a source altogether different from hope, or fear, or pleasure, or pain. Its original place, from which no force can drive it, is a throne. It directs human conduct by authoritative precept and not by a craving—a distinction as broad as exists between the heavens and the earth. Whatever individual men may say or do, however often and darkly wrong may take the place of right in the conduct of men, mankind is wiser than any man; and in all human speech, in institutions and laws, in the procedure of courts and of governments, and even in the instincts of what Homer* calls the homelessness and lawlessness of savage life, there is never wanting the witness of this supreme presence, which rules in all states, and claims ascendancy in all souls, and which, in some way, does contrive to get the mastery over force and fear.

We may, therefore, safely anticipate that what has been in this respect will continue to be. The future does not threaten the race with a continued reign of violence and terror. That principle of authority in every soul, which is, says Richard Hooker,† "laid up in the bosom of God," which commands, says Cicero,‡ "what ought to be done," which declares, says Demosthenes,‖ "what is just and honorable," and whose utterances, says Sophocles,§ "are not of to-day, nor of yesterday, and no man can tell when they came," is able to secure the supremacy it claims. It may make force and fear its ministers,

* Iliad IX., 63.
† "Ecclesiastical Polity," I., iii., 1.
‡ "De Legibus," i., 6.
‖ "Orat. 1, cont., Aristog."
§ "Antigone," 456.

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but will never take them as its masters. These, therefore, can exercise no permanent constraint or terror as instruments of evil. It is only when the right rules them that they are able to rule, in which case their rule need not be dreaded. When force and fear are used unrighteously, be it by an unrighteous government or an unrighteous opposition to government, their agents are sure to incur the doom of their victims.

Again, we may confidently anticipate that, whatever governments may be overthrown in the future, government itself will not cease. Neither universal anarchy, nor universal license for the individual is a future probability. Individuals may destroy themselves, but society will not commit suicide. Men are connected together in the organic interdependence of the state, not because they need each other's protection, or desire the pleasure of one another's presence, or have chosen the obligation of mutual agreement and fellowship, but because they are men only as they are members of society; they are born into the state as they are born into their manhood, and they can no more dissever themselves from those obligations to one another of which civil government is only the embodiment and the expression, than they can break away from human nature itself.

Advancing civilization neither weakens the power nor diminishes the necessity of civil government. It rather increases these. The civilized man has more government than the savage. Indeed, it is the lawlessness of the savage which makes him a savage, and civilization is truly, as the word implies literally, the reign of the state. Government is needed not merely because men are unwilling to be governed. The need is quite as much in the ignorance of men. In the most highly enlightened community, human actions become so complex, human relations are interwoven in such unnumbered combinations, that confusion becomes inextricable without government. Let one note the infinite complications which arise, and the adjustments which become necessary from the introduction of any one of the great inventions or institutions which our modern life employs,—*e. g.*, the steam-engine, telegraphy, banking,—if he would see the constant need of governmental guidance to secure justice and preserve order and peace. The attempted application of anarchical theories, therefore, to the civilized world will find itself hindered quite as much by a popular instinct as by governmental resistance.

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Still further, it is quite clear that the well-being of society is not to be gained through an adjustment of conflicting interests. Here is the frequent mistake of both the statesman and the political economist, who look upon human society as an aggregation of individuals each of whom is to be guarded in his rights against the aggression of another. Self-interest is supposed to be the mainspring of human action, and good order is thought to be secured when men can be made to see that it is for their interest to live in peace with one another. Political science deems itself to have accomplished its task when it has shown how all social disturbances and disorders spring from ignorance of the real interests of men, and how perfect harmony can be maintained by exact adjustments.

Judged by the strictly scientific method, this is very well. It is logical. But the difficulty, when we come to apply it, is that men are not logical. In the practical conduct of life they are governed by their sentiments, and not by their understandings. And when we look closely into the sentiment from which springs every social disturbance, we find it, at bottom, to be this very self-interest, which we now seek to elevate into a source of peace. It is only because men seek their own and not another's good that there is any social ill; and while it may be quite true that their seeking has been in mistaken ways, and that they in reality have only wronged themselves in their methods of gaining their supposed rights, not only cannot they be led to avoid their mistakes merely by having these revealed to them, but the self-seeking sentiment, which is the sole source of evil, cannot, by any increasing knowledge,—by any keener sense or shrewder judgment,—become a fountain of good. Honesty is, doubtless, the best policy, but no policy ever yet made an honest man. In like manner men, doubtless, in the long run, maintain their own interests best by carefully maintaining also the interests of others, but it is a very narrow reading of history, and a very superficial acquaintance with human nature, which has not seen that from such a motive thus applied no desirable results ever come. "Skin for skin, yea, all that a man hath will he give for his life," said Satan; but men are destroying their lives all the while, and this none the less where the means of saving them are the largest and the most clearly known. "Whosoever would save his life shall lose it," says the Lord; "but whosoever shall lose his life for my sake, the same shall save it." For my sake!

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There is great emphasis here. To lose one's life for one's own sake is a loss without any compensation or refinding, but to lose it for another's sake, for the Lord's sake, brings it back again new born, recreated, self-sacrifice taking the place of self-seeking, and love becoming the true life. An acquaintance with mankind which has not passed beyond the Satanic point of view, does not understand this, but he who has seen what Christ has done in human souls, and has profoundly studied the changes which his life has actually wrought in the organization of society, while he may well despair of light from any other source, will find the social problem perfectly solved in the Christian principle. "Love worketh no ill to his neighbor: therefore love is the fulfilling of the law." If every man were truly Christ's disciple, all bearing one another's burdens, and so fulfilling the law of Christ, society would be consciously knit together in a true interdependence,—the interdependence of an organism, wherein each part is at the same time the means and the end of all the rest,—and crime, and vice, and wrong of every sort would cease. The Son of God is the true Son of Man, and when the kingdoms of this world shall truly have become his kingdom, when he shall have become enthroned in all institutions, and laws, and movements of men, man must have then gained his true perfection, violence then can no more be heard, and wasting and destruction must disappear.

Now, the disturbances of our time constrain us, by their very dreadfulness, to look for the foundation stones of human progress. We can move in entire fearlessness when the ground does not shake; but when it is quivering beneath, and gaping all about us, we must note well where our steppings are. The first effect upon our civilization to be expected from the dire procedures which have lately excited the world is the startled vision which must behold its danger. It sees because it cannot turn away its eyes.

Our age is often called a superficial age, an age of frivolity and shams, but I confess it seems to me far otherwise. There is frivolity enough indeed, and shams enough now apparent; but it would take me long to find an age with a keener eye, or with more depth of feeling, or a greater earnestness of action than the age which has fought victoriously the battle with the slave-power in America, which has not only witnessed but secured the emancipation of the serfs in Russia, which has achieved the

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triumphs of German and Italian unity, which has despoiled the Papacy of its temporal power, which has secured the British Empire in India, which has introduced so prominently the principle of arbitration in the settlement of national disputes, which has wrought such surpassing deeds of missionary enlightenment in India, in Madagascar, and the South Seas, and whose wonders of science and industry and invention have been paralleled in no age. The nineteenth century is not purblind. It has good eyes. It has a good heart also, and will not suffer itself to be hoodwinked. It is, therefore, likely to see its true defense as well as its peril. It knows better than to seek to quell its fears by force alone, and will surely learn — is beginning already to learn* — that its labor-saving inventions are not of themselves going to lighten the burden of labor; that its social science can give neither the impulse nor the ground for social progress; that its increase of wealth, its industry, its intelligence, instead of being instruments of defense, may all be turned into deadly weapons of destruction; that self-interest does not secure self-preservation; and that in the principle of self-forgetfulness, wherein each one pleases not himself but his neighbor, even as Christ pleased not himself, is the only true means of social safety and strength and growth.

It would be a very narrow intellect which should think lightly of those triumphs of invention or achievements of science which form so prominent a characteristic of the present age; but it would be a very short-sighted vision which should not see the inaptitude of these to secure social perfection. The penetrating thought will reach to the full requirements of the case; and the nineteenth century, not lacking in penetration, will see that it can only be saved, and will only be satisfied, by becoming more Christlike.

These positions do not rest upon the optimistic persuasion that there is in human nature an inherent tendency to a progressive improvement, for such a persuasion cannot be justified by facts. When we look at history comprehensively, no such tendency appears. Viewed simply in respect of extent of territory or numbers embraced, deterioration shows more prominently in the actual history of the world than progress. Arts and litera-

* "It is questionable," says John Stuart Mill, "if all the mechanical inventions yet made have lightened the day's toil of any human being."— "Polit. Econ," B. 10; ch. 6.

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tures and civilizations and religions have decayed far oftener than they have manifested an increasing growth.

Taking the facts as they are, without prejudging them by any theory, human nature shows a singular aptitude to slip away from its vantage-grounds, as though it was far more powerfully controlled by a proclivity to a lower state, than by an impulse to a higher one. This aptitude is just as evident to-day as ever. No one can look carefully at our present civilization without noting signs of evil which in other civilizations have been portents of ruin. But, in the words of the sagacious Niebuhr, "as the consideration of nature shows an inherent intelligence which may also be conceived as coherent with nature, so does history, on a hundred occasions, show an intelligence which is distinct from nature, which conducts and determines those things which may seem to us accidental; and it is not true that the study of history weakens the belief in a Divine Providence. History is, of all kinds of knowledge, the one which tends most decidedly to this belief." There is thus another factor than human agency, entering into the product of human history. The historical evidence alone, closely scrutinized, shows what can only be denominated a divine superintendence. The historical movement is a movement with a divine purpose, of whose meaning we get glimpses, with increasing clearness from increasing study of the actual procedure. The incarnation of the Son of God is the focal point to which all lines preceding it converge, and from which radiate the most potent influences in the subsequent history of the world. These influences are still mighty. They are an exhaustless source of power. They show themselves guided by unerring wisdom. We need not therefore anticipate from them either a mistake or a failure. They preach to us courage, even while human endeavors, left to themselves, are as likely as ever to end in disaster.

JULIUS H. SEELYE.

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THE LAST DAYS OF THE REBELLION.

PUBLIC attention having of late been occasionally called to some of the events that occurred in the closing scenes of the Virginia campaign, terminating at Appomattox Court-house, April 9, 1865, I feel it my duty to give to history the following facts:

When, April 4, 1865, being at the head of the cavalry, I threw across the line of General Lee's march, at Jettersville, on the Richmond and Danville Railroad, my personal escort, the First United States Cavalry, numbering about 200 men, a tall, lank man was seen coming down the road from the direction of Amelia Court-house, riding a small mule and heading toward Burkesville Junction, to which point General Crook had, early that morning, been ordered with his division of cavalry, to break the railroad and telegraph lines. The man and the mule were brought to a halt, and the mule and himself closely examined, under strong remonstrances at the indignity done to a Southern gentleman. Remonstrance, however, was without avail, and in his boots two telegrams were found from the Commissary-General of Lee's army, saying: "The army is at Amelia Court-house, short of provisions; send 300,000 rations quickly to Burkesville Junction." One of these dispatches was for the Confederate Supply Department at Danville, the other for that at Lynchburg. It was at once presumed that, after the dispatches were written, the telegraph line had been broken by General Crook north of Burkesville, and they were on their way to some station beyond the break, to be telegraphed. They revealed where Lee was, and from them some estimate could also be formed of the number of his troops. Orders were at once given to General Crook to come up the road from Burkesville to Jettersville, and to General Merritt, who, with the other two divisions of cavalry, had followed the road from Petersburg,

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on the south side of and near the Appomattox River, to close in without delay on Jettersville, while the Fifth Army Corps, under the lamented Griffin, which was about ten or fifteen miles behind, was marched at a quick pace to the same point, and the road in front of Lee's army blocked until the arrival of the balance of the army of the Potomac the afternoon of the next day. My command was pinched for provisions, and these dispatches indicated an opportunity to obtain a supply; so, calling for Lieutenant-Colonel Young, commanding my scouts, four men, in the most approved gray, were selected—good, brave, smart fellows, knowing every cavalry regiment in the Confederate army, and as good "Johnnies" as were in that army, so far as bearing and language were concerned. They were directed to go to Burkesville Junction and there separate. Two were to go down the Lynchburg branch of the railroad until a Confederate telegraph station was found, from which they were to transmit by wire the above-mentioned rebel dispatches, represent the suffering condition of Lee's army, watch for the trains, and hurry the provisions on to Burkesville, or in that direction. The other two were to go on the Danville branch, and had similar instructions. The mission was accomplished by those who went out on the Lynchburg branch, but I am not certain about the success of the other party; at all events, no rations came from Danville that I know of.

I arrived at Jettersville with the advance of my command—the First United States Cavalry—on the afternoon of the 4th of April. I knew the condition and position of the rebel army from the dispatches referred to, and also from the following letter (erroneously dated April 5th), taken from a colored man who was captured later in the day:

"AMELIA C. H., April 5, 1865.

"DEAR MAMMA: Our army is ruined, I fear. We are all safe as yet. Shyron left us sick. John Taylor is well; saw him yesterday. We are in line of battle this morning. General Robert Lee is in the field near us. My trust is still in the justice of our cause and that of God. General Hill is killed. I saw Murray a few minutes since. Bernard Terry he said was taken prisoner, but may get out. I send this by a negro I see passing up the railroad to Michlenburg. Love to all.

"Your devoted son,

"WM. B. TAYLOR, Colonel."

I accordingly sent out my escort to demonstrate and make as much ado as they could, by continuous firing in front of the enemy

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at or near Amelia Court-house, pending the arrival of the Fifth Corps. That corps came up in the course of the afternoon, and was put into position at right angles with the Richmond and Danville road with its left resting on a pond or swamp on the left of the road. Toward evening General Crook arrived with his division of cavalry, and later General Merritt, with his two divisions; and all took their designated places. The Fifth Corps, after its arrival, had thrown up earth-works and made its position strong enough to hold out against any force for the period which would intervene before the arrival of the main body of the army of the Potomac, now rapidly coming up on the lines over which I had traveled.

On the afternoon and night of the 4th, no attack was made by the enemy upon the small force in his front,—the Fifth Corps and three divisions of cavalry,—and by the morning of the 5th, I began to believe that he would leave the main road if he could, and pass around my left flank to Sailor's Creek and Farmville. To watch this suspected movement, early on the morning of the 5th, I sent Davies's brigade of Crook's division of cavalry, to make a reconnoissance in that direction. The result was an encounter by Davies with a large train of wagons, under escort, moving in the direction anticipated. The train was attacked by him, and about 200 wagons were burned, and five pieces of artillery and a large number of prisoners captured. In the afternoon of April 5th, the main body of the army of the Potomac came up. General Meade was unwell and requested me to put the troops in position, which I did, in line of battle, facing the enemy at Amelia Court-house. I thought it best to attack at once, but this was not done. I then began to be afraid the enemy would, in the night, by a march to the right from Amelia Court-house, attempt to pass our left flank and again put us in the rear of his retreating columns. Under this impression I sent to General Grant the following dispatch:

"CAVALRY HEAD-QUARTERS,
JETTERSVILLE, April 5, 1865.—3 P. M.

"Lieutenant-General U. S. GRANT, Commanding Armies of the United States.

"*General:* I send you the enclosed letter, which will give you an idea of the condition of the enemy and their whereabouts. I sent General Davies's brigade this morning around on my left flank. He captured at Fames's Cross-roads five pieces of artillery, about 200 wagons, and eight or nine battle-flags, and a number of prisoners. The Second Army Corps is now

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coming up. I wish you were here yourself. I feel confident of capturing the army of Northern Virginia, if we exert ourselves. I see no escape for Lee. I will put all my cavalry out on our left flank, except Mackenzie, who is now on the right.

"(Signed) P. H. SHERIDAN, Major-General."

On receipt of this he immediately started for my head-quarters at Jettersville, arriving there about 11 o'clock of the night of April 5th. Next morning, April 6th, the infantry of the army advanced on Amelia Court-house. It was found before reaching it that the enemy had turned our left flank and taken another road to Sailor's Creek and Farmville. The cavalry did not advance with the infantry on Amelia Court-house, but moved to the left and rear, at daylight on the morning of the 6th, and struck the moving columns of the enemy's infantry and artillery, with which a series of contests ensued that resulted in the battle of Sailor's Creek, where Lieutenant-General Ewell lost his command of about ten thousand men, and was himself taken prisoner, together with ten other general officers.

We now come to the morning of the 7th. I thought that Lee would not abandon the direct road to Danville through Prince Edward's Court-house, and early on the morning of the 7th, directed General Crook to follow up his rear, while with Merritt (Custer's and Devin's divisions), I swung off to the left, and moved quickly to strike the Danville road six or eight miles south of Prince Edward's Court-house, and thus again head or cut off all or some of the retreating Confederate army. On reaching that road, it was found that General Lee's army had not passed, and my command was instantly turned north for Prince Edward's Court-house. A detachment ordered to move with the greatest celerity, via Prince Edward's Court-house, reported that Lee had crossed the Appomattox at and near Farmville, and that Crook had followed him. On looking at the map it will be seen that General Lee would be obliged to pass through Appomattox Court-house and Appomattox station on the railroad, to reach Lynchburg by the road he had taken north of the Appomattox River, and that that was the longest road to get there. He had given the shortest one—the one south of the river—to the cavalry. General Crook was at once sent for, and the three divisions, numbering perhaps at that time 7000 men, concentrated on the night of the 7th of April at and near Prospect station on the Lynchburg and Richmond Rail-

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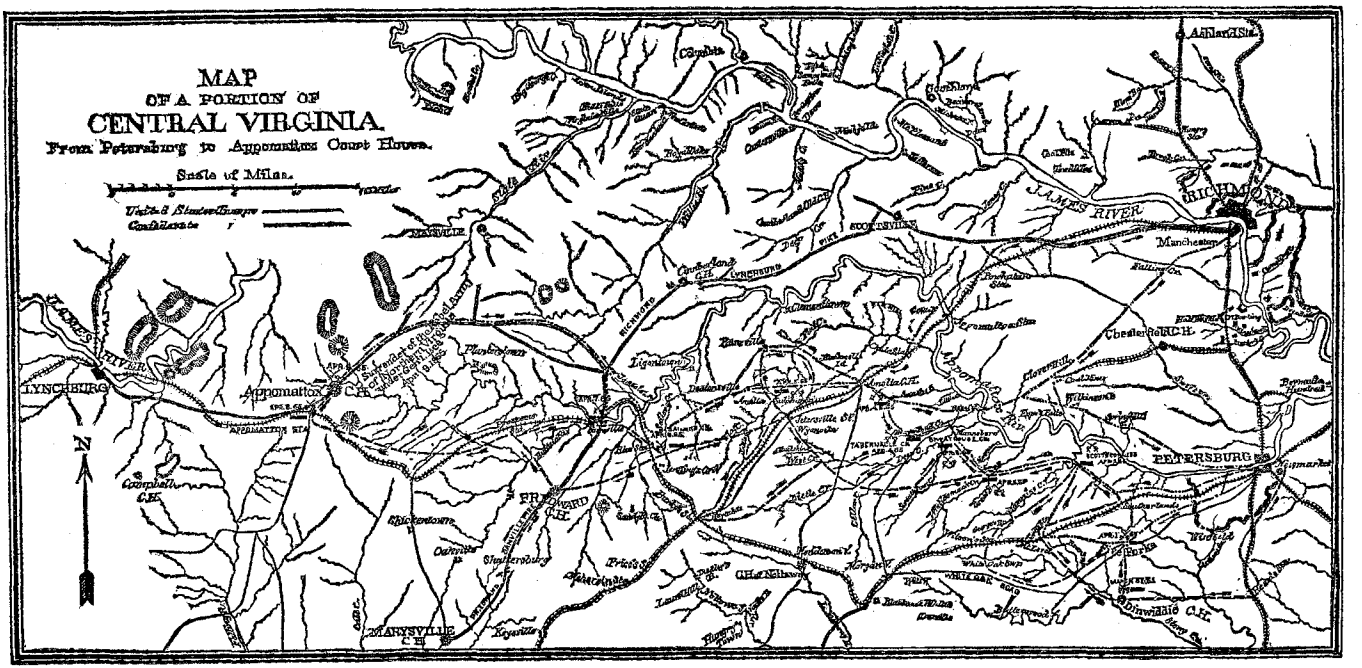

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road, and Appomattox station became the objective point of the cavalry for the operations of the next day, the 8th.

Meantime my scouts had not been idle, but had followed down the railroad, looking out for the trains with the 300,000 rations which they had telegraphed for on the night of the 4th. Just before reaching Appomattox station, they found five trains of cars feeling their way along in the direction of Burkesville Junction, not knowing exactly where Lee was. They induced the person in charge to come farther on by their description of the pitiable condition of the Confederate troops. Our start on the morning of the 8th was before the sun was up, and having proceeded but a few miles, Major White, of the scouts, reached me with the news that the trains were east of Appomattox station, that he had succeeded in bringing them on some distance, but was afraid that they would again be run back to the station. Intelligence of this fact was immediately communicated to Crook, Merritt, and Custer, and the latter, who had the advance, was urged not to let the trains escape, and I pushed on and joined him. Before reaching the station, Custer detailed two regiments to make a detour, strike the railroad beyond the station, tear up the track and secure the trains. This was accomplished, but on the arrival of the main body of our advance at the station, it was found that the advance-guard of Lee's army was just coming on the ground. A sanguinary engagement at once ensued. The enemy was driven off, forty pieces of artillery captured, and four hundred baggage wagons burned. The railroad trains had been secured in the first onset, and were taken possession of by locomotive engineers, soldiers in the command, whose delight at again getting at their former employment was so great that they produced the wildest confusion by running the trains to and fro on the track, and making such an unearthly screeching with the whistles, that I was at one time on the point of ordering the trains burnt; but we finally got them off, and ran them to our rear ten or fifteen miles, to Ord and Gibbon, who with the infantry were following the cavalry. The cavalry continued the fighting nearly all that night, driving the enemy back to the vicinity of Appomattox Court-house, a distance of about four miles, thus giving him no repose, and covering the weakness of the attacking force.

I remember well the little frame-house just south of the station where the head-quarters of the cavalry rested, or rather,

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remained, for there was no rest the night of the 8th. Dispatches were going back to our honored chief, General Grant, and Ord was requested to push on the wearied infantry. To-morrow was to end our troubles in all reasonable probability, but it was thought necessary that the infantry should arrive, in order to doubly insure the result. Merritt, Crook, and Custer were, at times, there. Happiness was in every heart. Our long and weary labors were about to close; our dangers soon to end. There was no sleep; there had been but little for the previous eight or nine days. Before sunrise, General Ord came in reporting the near approach of his command. After a hasty consultation about positions to be taken up by the incoming troops, we were in the saddle and off for the front, in the vicinity of Appomattox Court-house. As we were approaching the village, a heavy line of Confederate infantry was seen advancing, and rapid firing commenced. Riding to a slight elevation, where I could get a view of the advancing enemy, I immediately sent directions to General Merritt for Custer's and Devin's divisions to slowly fall back, and as they did so, to withdraw to our right flank, thus unmasking Ord's and Gibbons's infantry. Crook and Mackenzie, on the extreme left, were ordered to hold fast. I then hastily galloped back to give General Ord the benefit of my information. No sooner had the enemy's line of battle reached the elevation from which my reconnoissance had been made, and from whence could be distinctly seen Ord's troops in the distance, than he called a sudden halt, and a retrograde movement began to a ridge about one mile to his rear. Shortly afterward I returned from General Ord to the front, making for General Merritt's battle-flag on the right flank of the line. On reaching it, the order to advance was given, and every guidon was bent to the front, and as we swept by toward the left of the enemy's line of battle, he opened a heavy fire from artillery. No heed was paid to the deadly missiles, and, with the wildest yells, we soon reached a point some distance to his right and nearly opposite Appomattox Court-house. Beyond us, in a low valley, lay Lee and the remnant of his army. There did not appear to be much organization, except in the advanced troops under General Gordon, whom we had been fighting, and a rear-guard under General Longstreet, still further up the valley. Formations were immediately commenced, to make a bold and sweeping charge down the grassy slope, when an aide-de-camp from Cus-

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ter, filled with excitement, hat in hand, dashed up to me with the message from his chief: "Lee has surrendered! Do not charge; the white flag is up!" Orders were given to complete the formation, but not to charge.

Looking to the left, to Appomattox Court-house, a large group was seen near by the lines of Confederate troops that had fallen back to that point. General Custer had not come back, and, supposing that he was with the group at the Court-house, I moved on a gallop down the narrow ridge, followed by my staff. The Court-house was, perhaps, three-fourths of a mile distant. We had not gone far before a heavy fire was opened on us from a skirt of timber to our right, and distant not much over three hundred yards. I halted for a moment, and taking off my hat, called out that the flag was being violated, but could not stop the firing, which now caused us all to take shelter in a ravine running parallel to the ridge we were on, and down which we then traveled. As we approached the Court-house, a gentle ascent had to be made. I was in advance, followed by a sergeant carrying my battle-flag. Within one hundred to one hundred and fifty yards from the Court-house and Confederate lines, some of the men in their ranks brought down their guns to an aim on us, and great effort was made by their officers to keep them from firing. I halted, and hearing some noise behind, turned in the saddle, and saw a Confederate soldier attempting to take my battle-flag from the color-bearer. This the sergeant had no idea of submitting to, and had drawn his saber to cut the man down. A word from me caused him to return his saber, and take the flag back to the staff-officers, who were some little distance behind. I remained stationary a moment after these events, then calling a staff-officer, directed him to go over to the group of Confederate officers, and demand what such conduct meant. Kind apologies were made, and we advanced. The superior officers met were General J. B. Gordon, and General Cadmus M. Wilcox, the latter an old army officer. As soon as the first greeting was over, a furious firing commenced in front of our own cavalry from whom we had only a few minutes before separated. General Gordon seemed to be somewhat disconcerted by it. I remarked to him, "General Gordon, your men fired on me as I was coming over here, and undoubtedly they have done the same to Merritt's and Custer's commands. We might just as

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well let them fight it out." To this proposition General Gordon did not accede. I then asked, "Why not send a staff-officer and have your people cease firing? They are violating the flag!" He said, "I have no staff-officer to send." I replied, "I will let you have one of mine"; and calling for Lieutenant Vanderbilt Allen, he was directed to report to General Gordon and carry his orders. The orders were to go to General Geary, who was in command of a small brigade of South Carolina cavalry, and ask him to discontinue the firing. Lieutenant Allen dashed off with the message, but, on delivering it to General Geary, was taken prisoner, with the remark from that officer, that he did not care for white flags; that South Carolinians never surrendered.

It was about this time that Merritt, getting impatient at the supposed treacherous firing, ordered a charge of a portion of his command. While Generals Gordon and Wilcox were engaged in conversation with me, a cloud of dust, a wild hurrah, a flashing of sabers, indicated a charge, and the ejaculations of my staff-officers were heard, "Look! Merritt has ordered a charge!" The flight of Geary's brigade followed; Lieutenant Allen was thus released. The last gun had been fired, and the last charge made in the Virginia campaign.

While the scenes thus related were taking place, the conversation I now speak of was occurring between General Gordon and myself. After the first salutation, General Gordon remarked: "General Lee asks for a suspension of hostilities pending the negotiations which he has been having for the last day and night with General Grant." I rejoined: "I have been constantly informed of the progress of the negotiations, and think it singular that while such negotiations are going on, General Lee should have continued his march and attempted to break through my lines this morning with the view of escaping. I can entertain no terms except the condition that General Lee will surrender to General Grant on his arrival here. I have sent for him. If these terms are not accepted, we will renew hostilities." General Gordon replied: "General Lee's army is exhausted. There is no doubt of his surrender to General Grant on his arrival."

General Wilcox, whom I knew quite well, he having been captain of the company to which I was attached as a cadet at the military academy, then stepped to his horse, and taking hold

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of the saddle-bags, said, in a jocular way: "Here, Sheridan, take these saddle-bags; they have one soiled shirt and a pair of drawers. You have burned everything else I had in the world, and I think you are entitled to these also." He was alluding, of course, to the destruction of the baggage trains which had been going on for some days.

When the terms above referred to were settled, each army agreed to remain *in statu quo* until the arrival of General Grant, whom Colonel Newhall, my adjutant-general, had gone for. Generals Gordon and Wilcox then returned to see General Lee, and promised to come back in about thirty minutes, and during that time General Ord joined me at the court-house. At the end of thirty or forty minutes, General Gordon returned in company with General Longstreet. The latter, who commanded Lee's rear guard back on the Farmville road, seemed somewhat alarmed lest General Meade, who was following up from Farmville, might attack, not knowing the condition of affairs at the front. To prevent this, I proposed to send my chief of staff, General J. W. Forsyth, accompanied by a Confederate officer, back through the Confederate army and inform General Meade of the existing state of affairs. He at once started, accompanied by Colonel Fairfax, of General Longstreet's staff, met the advance of the Army of the Potomac, and communicated the conditions.

In the meantime, General Lee came over to McLean's house in the village of Appomattox Court-house. I am not certain whether General Babcock, of General Grant's staff, who had arrived in advance of the General, had gone over to see him or not. We had waited some hours, and, I think, about twelve or one o'clock General Grant arrived. General Ord, myself, and many officers were in the main road leading through the town, at a point where Lee's army was visible. General Grant rode up, and greeted me with, "Sheridan, how are you?" I replied, "I am very well, thank you." He then said, "Where is Lee?" I replied, "There is his army down in that valley; he is over in that house (pointing out McLean's), waiting to surrender to you." General Grant, still without dismounting, said, "Come, let us go over." He then made the same request to General Ord, and we all went to McLean's house. Those who entered with General Grant were, as nearly as I can recollect, Ord, Rawlins, Seth Williams, Ingalls, Babcock, Parker, and myself; the staff offi-

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cers, or those who accompanied, remaining outside on the porch steps and in the yard. On entering the parlor, we found General Lee standing in company with Colonel Marshal, his aide-de-camp. The first greeting was to General Seth Williams, who had been Lee's adjutant when he was superintendent of the Military Academy. General Lee was then presented to General Grant, and all present were introduced. General Lee was dressed in a new gray uniform, evidently put on for the occasion, and wore a handsome sword. He had on his face the expression of relief from a heavy burden. General Grant's uniform was soiled with mud and service, and he wore no sword. After a few words had been spoken by those who knew General Lee, all the officers retired, except, perhaps, one staff officer of General Grant's, and the one who was with General Lee. We had not been absent from the room longer than about five minutes, when General Babcock came to the door and said, "The surrender has taken place—you can come in again."

When we reëntered, General Grant was writing on a little wooden, elliptical-shaped table (purchased by me from Mr. McLean and presented to Mrs. G. A. Custer) the conditions of the surrender. General Lee was sitting, his hands resting on the hilt of his sword, to the left of General Grant, with his back to a small marble-topped table, on which many books were piled. While General Grant was writing, friendly conversation was engaged in by General Lee and his aid with the officers present, and he took from his breast-pocket two dispatches, which had been sent to him by me during the forenoon, notifying him that some of his cavalry, in front of Crook, were violating the agreement entered into by withdrawing. I had not had time to make copies when they were sent and had made a request to have them returned. He handed them to me with the remark, "I am sorry. It is possible my cavalry at that point of the line did not fully understand the agreement."

About one hour was occupied in drawing up and signing the terms, when General Lee retired from the house with a cordial shake of the hand with General Grant, mounted his chunky, gray horse, and lifting his hat, passed through the gate, and rode over the crest of the hill to his army. On his arrival there, we heard wild cheering, which seemed to be taken up progressively by his troops, either for him, or because of satisfaction with his last official act as a soldier.

P. H. SHERIDAN.

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THE INCREASE OF PUBLIC EXPENDITURES.

THE Constitution of the United States invests Congress alone with power to appropriate money from the National treasury to the public use, but in the practical working of our system of Government, the responsibility for public expenditure is divided between Congress and the Executive department. "No money shall be drawn from the Treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law," and the President "shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed." Under these two provisions of the Constitution and under this measure of responsibility, in general terms, are placed the control and disposition of the moneys which from year to year are gathered into the Treasury of the United States. There is, however, another provision — undoubtedly arising out of the jealousy with which the founders of the Republic regarded military power — which, while investing Congress with authority "to raise and support armies," ordains that "no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years." There is unquestionably a further and most important limitation on this power of appropriation found in the nature and extent of the powers conferred by the Constitution on the several departments of Government and especially on Congress, for it is necessarily implied that the expenditure of the public money shall not extend to objects beyond the scope of the Government established.

The comprehensive authority for raising revenue, "The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States," perhaps more clearly limits the power of appropriation, by just implication, to the promotion of objects exclusively national. Within the limits named, which are more implied than expressed, there is no restriction on the power of Congress, except those con-

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tained in the fourteenth amendment incident to the late war, to appropriate money from the public treasury.

The usual practice has prevailed ever since the organization of the Government for the President to transmit to Congress, at the opening of each regular session, an estimate in detail of the money required by each of the Executive departments during the ensuing fiscal year, and on the basis of these estimates the appropriations are made. But Congress can make (except for the support of the army) what are called permanent and indefinite appropriations, under which, without further action of Congress, large sums of money are annually withdrawn from the Treasury by the Executive departments. These permanent and indefinite appropriations which Congress in former years deemed it proper to make, have become apparently permanent features in our system, and are in the main for the payment of the interest and principal of the public debt and the cost of collecting the customs revenue. There is, however, a long list of minor permanent and indefinite appropriations, and the tendency is, notwithstanding persistent opposition, to enlarge the list, for such appropriations are convenient to the departments and diminish the labor of Congressional Committees. That abuses should occur under this practice is inevitable. This class of appropriations includes money deposited in the public treasury by private parties for surveys of public lands; thus, while last year Congress appropriated $400,000 out of the Treasury for that purpose, private parties, in view of the excessive profits of surveying contracts, deposited $2,052,306.36 to secure such surveys, which is expended without action of Congress. But permanent and indefinite appropriations are mainly confined to the extraordinary expenditures, and the appropriations annually made by Congress substantially express the current ordinary expenditures of the Government.

It is obvious that the authors of the Constitution, while careful to define and limit many of the great powers conferred on the departments of Government, yet in the matters of revenue and expenditure—matters of vital and persistent interest—relied exclusively on the vigilance of the people and the restraining force of public opinion. Hence, the Constitution casts the responsibility of such measures largely on the House of Congress most immediately responsible to the people. "All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives,"

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and "the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal." The Constitution also carefully provides for keeping the people well informed of the action of Congress, especially as to expenditures: "Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and, from time to time, publish the same"; and specially provides that "a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public moneys shall be published from time to time."

So it will appear, that while Congress is charged with the control of the public moneys and has the undoubted constitutional power to fix a definite limit on their expenditure, yet because of the practice of permanent and indefinite appropriations, the dependence of Congress on the Executive department for details of the public requirements, and especially the persistent habit in departments and bureaus of making expenditures, and contracts involving expenditures, in excess of the appropriations, which sooner or later, in the form of "Audited Accounts," receive legislative recognition, the responsibility for the expenditures of Government is practically divided between Congress and the Executive departments. The demand for the constant exercise of the powers of the people in the administration of the Government is nowhere more manifest than in the ample, and in a large degree unrestricted powers of Congress in the raising of revenue and its expenditure, and in the tendency in Congress to divide the responsibility for expenditure with the Executive departments, which, while less open to public observation, are the more exposed to unscrupulous raids upon the public funds committed to their charge. Surely, the fathers could indulge the confident belief that in matters that concerned the integrity as well as the burdens of Government, public vigilance would not be suspended.

In the early years of our history there were high motives for frugal government, not only in the impoverished condition of a people just emerging from a great struggle, but in the desire to present a contrast between a free people administering their own affairs and the impoverishing governments of Europe; nor can we doubt that the self-denying statesmen of that day sought to present to the coming ages the example of a Government having in view only the happiness and prosperity of its people. To the close of 1791, from the inauguration of Wash-

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ington as President, the revenues were $4,409,951.19; and the entire expenditure, including $175,813.88 for pensions, $1,177,-863.03 for interest and $699,984.23 payment on the public debt, amounted to $3,797,436.78, leaving still nearly three-quarters of a million of dollars in the Treasury. Passing from this period to the close of the half century, we find that in 1841 the entire current ordinary expenditures (omitting the extraordinary-pensions, interest, and payments on the public debt, for these cannot well be considered in a review of current, ordinary expenditures and belong to specific periods) were $23,808,405.78. The appropriations for this year, for the ordinary expenditures, were $22,147,-701.91. The expenditure exceeded the appropriations in consequence of Indian war. The appropriations include for the civil list, diplomatic and postal service, $8,517,079.35, and for the army, navy, fortification, West Point and Indians, $13,620,566. The civil list includes appropriations for military, geographical and geological surveys. The Executive office is not overlooked, and for that service the whole appropriation is as follows: "For annual repairs of the President's house, gardeners' salary, horse and cart, laborers and tools, and for amount due F. Masi and Company for repairs on furniture, $2628." And at the foot of this list of appropriations for 1841, the following interesting legend arrests attention: "No new offices created or salaries increased." Such, at the end of half a century, was the force of a great example and public vigilance; and yet, as will appear, the expenditures of 1841 were materially above the average of that period, at least of ensuing years, and exceeded by two million dollars those of the preceding year. Up to this period, the entire expenditures of Government, including pensions and excluding the public debt, was $632,351,388. Our territory had been vastly extended by two great purchases, and our population had reached beyond seventeen millions.

We are not able as yet to compare our second half century of government with the first; dividing the completed period will indicate the result when it can be done. The appropriations made for the current expenses of the first fiscal year of President Lincoln's administration, which commenced on the first day of July, 1861, excluding a double appropriation for the postal service and the pension list, were $64,621,603.46. Some increase of military force was included, and the disordered state of the country precludes any just comparison; but during the preceding

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decade, as will appear, there was a marked tendency to increased expenditure. The appropriations for the current ordinary expenditures of 1882 were $148,412,071.46, and for the present fiscal year reach $179,729,015.21, pensions and public debt in both years excluded. The entire current appropriations for the year are $295,729,015.21, including $116,000,000 for the pension list, sixteen millions of which are for deficiencies of the preceding year. A portion of this appropriation for pensions, it is believed, will not be required during this fiscal year. To this is to be added the estimated expenditure of $80,591,225 under permanent appropriations, making the aggregate for the year $376,320,240, independent of the sinking fund.

In 1841, at the beginning of our second half century, our population exceeded seventeen millions; in 1883, it is over fifty-three millions, and our current ordinary expenditures, civil list, consular and diplomatic, postal service, army, navy, and miscellaneous (pensions and public debt excluded), have increased on the basis of the appropriations above given, in the period of forty-two years, more than sevenfold. It must be admitted that in some degree growth of population involves some increase in the expenses of our Government, but it cannot be shown that the necessary increase would be even observable except through a considerable period of years.

For several years the prominent, and yet, within reasonable limits, the most justifiable increase of expenditure is noticeable in the post-office department. In 1853, it had reached by slow degrees, $7,982,957, and in the last fiscal year, $40,482,021. This is largely attributable to the extension of the railroads and the heavy charges they impose on the Government. The postal service is of especial interest and value to the whole people, yet recent events have demonstrated how readily and plausibly even a great public institution, where intregity is of special value, can be dishonestly employed in the interests of private aggrandizement. But the decline of the old-time frugality is everywhere manifest. The most unexpected objects for expenditure are discovered. The appropriations for the present year contain $61,676.45 for expenses incurred by gentlemen in their contests for seats in Congress. At the close of our first half century, $29,128.00 was deemed sufficient for the compensation of the President and the expenses of the Executive office; in President Lincoln's term, $39,600 was all that was required; while

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$141,164 is barely deemed sufficient for the present year, with $25,500 for the improvement of the ground on the south and roadways and sidewalks on the north of the Executive mansion. The "horse and cart" at the end of the first half century is the prototype of this. The State department is our most conservative and stationary feature, yet the salaries and incidental expenses of the office (omitting cost of publishing laws in pamphlet form not now incurred by the department) were, during President Lincoln's administration, $73,800, and for this current year, $155,830. But the field is too large for details.

Mr. Benton, certainly a very high authority, in his "Thirty Years' View," considering the appropriations for the year 1855, in which he wrote, says:

> "The evils of extravagance in government are great. Besides the burden upon the people, it leads to corruption in the Government and to a janissary horde of office-holders to live upon the people while polluting their elections and legislation and poisoning the fountains of public information in molding public opinion to their own purposes. . . . . At the same time, it is the opinion of this writer that a practical man, acquainted with the objects for which the federal Government was created and familiar with its financial working from the time its fathers put it into operation, could take his pen and cross out nearly the one-half of these seventy odd millions, and leave the Government in its full vigor for all its proper objects, and more pure by reducing the number of those who live upon the substance of the people."

Mr. Benton, in generalizing, overestimated the expenses for 1855. Omitting the extraordinary expenditures (pensions and the public debt), they were $54,838,585.39. But when, twenty-eight years later, the appropriations for current annual expenditure have reached $179,729,015.21, it is absolutely certain that if Mr. Benton's method could be applied in considering the vast body of items which make up the great aggregate, the benefit to the people would, in the elevation of their Government, enormously exceed the saving to their treasury.

The force of public opinion is nowhere, in the conduct of our affairs, so absolute as in this field of expenditure. The war of 1812 had so increased the demands on the Treasury, that in 1816, the ordinary expenditures exceeded twenty-three millions; and yet, at the close of the Fourteenth Congress, the famous "Compensation Act" was passed, enlarging the pay of congressmen from six dollars per day, during the session, to $1500 per year. This act was deemed mercenary and venal, and aroused the fiercest

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indignation throughout the entire country. The obnoxious measure was promptly repealed, but the greater number of the members of Congress who had supported it were promptly and permanently retired from public life; even the matchless eloquence of Mr. Clay barely rescued him from the general wreck. This exhibition of public feeling produced positive results, and the current ordinary expenditures were heavily and persistently reduced. As late as 1823, they were $8,004,576.07, and in 1829, the last year of President John Q. Adams's administration, $11,691,615.93.

The log-cabin campaign of 1840 led to a searching inquiry into public expenditure sand reanimated the people with admiration and love for the old-time frugality of their Government. This was followed by a period of positive retrenchment; and as late as 1844, the current ordinary expenditures for the year were but $18,628,099.02. One cannot examine the financial condition of that period and of the preceding years without being impressed with the conviction that the most tempestuous political campaign, when animated by questions and measures of public administration, may have a most wholesome and purifying influence on public affairs.

An event of recent years is still more instructive. In 1873, in the closing hours of the Forty-second Congress, a large number of salaries, including those of the President of the United States and members of Congress, were greatly increased with retroactive compensation to the members of Congress, and the current ordinary appropriations of the session were increased by many millions over those of the preceding year, and by more than forty-one million dollars over the expenditures of the year next preceding that. These measures received at once universal condemnation. A feeling of mingled indignation and disappointment pervaded the country, for it had been the general belief that when the miscellaneous debts incident to the war had been adjusted, a heavy reduction of taxation and expenditure would follow. The press universally held these measures up to public condemnation as the outgrowth of a venality and self-seeking in public employments that could not be endured.

The Forty-third Congress hastened to undo the work of its predecessor so far as was possible; but the public indignation was not appeased; the enormous budget of expenditure was carefully explored, the spirit of the Grange movement, especially

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in the West, inspired impartial criticism and independent action, and the House of Representatives underwent a complete revolution. Under that impulse, the current ordinary expenses of the first year for which the Forty-fourth Congress made the appropriations, were reduced to $116,246,211.01, as against $165,080,570.34, for the year for which the appropriations involving the enlarged salaries were made. In both instances pensions and the public debt are omitted, but including both would not affect the result. The ordinary expenditures of the next year, for which that Congress made the appropriations, including the army appropriations afterward made, and excluding pensions and public debt, were $107,326,433.07, since which time the expenditures have increased. In every instance of positive retrenchment, the "deficiencies" which crowd upon the ensuing years have correspondingly diminished.

These landmarks and the current history of the Government demonstrate beyond question that even the most sweeping retrenchments that have ever been made in our expenditures have not embarrassed the public service for an hour; and furthermore, that in a Government like ours there is no safe ground between severe economy and prodigal expenditure; that the administration will either be frugal and honest or lavish and corrupt; and more clearly demonstrate that the only guaranty for frugal and honest government is to be found in the vigilance and fidelity of the people.

The excellence of our system of government, with its towns, townships, cities, parishes, counties, and states, so admirably adapted to the keeping of politicial power under the eye and within the control of the people, and all united by the Federal Union, cannot be questioned. But with each of these agencies of government employing its measure of taxation; with the steady and remorseless growth of federal expenditure during the last thirty years continued in full vigor, influencing by its great and pernicious example the local governments of this wide-spread system, animating the ever-growing multitude who seek to live off the labor of other men, how long will it be before the evils which have oppressed for centuries the labor of the Old World are transplanted to the New?

A powerful motive for increased expenditure is found in the vicious practice, so long tolerated, of creating and employing public patronage as a reward for partisan services. So long as

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the country acquiesces in this abuse of the public service, this disreputable and corrupting practice will continue; new avenues into the public treasury will be discovered and explored; new offices, enlarged salaries, and lucrative contracts in countless variety and in every department of government, will demand an ever-increasing revenue. But the motives for increased expenditure are sufficiently numerous and obvious without this. A motive largely mercenary for entering the public service is fatal to public honor, and it is perfectly safe to predict that any system of civil service reform which proposes to leave the salaries of officers and employés of Government, as now, greatly above the rate of compensation paid in private employments for services requiring an equal or a similar degree of integrity, industry, and capacity, will prove a "delusion and a snare." A blow at the heart of the evil would restore the sentiment of honor to the public service.

Fifty years ago, a distinguished writer in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, referring to the Athenian Republic and our own, expressed opinions touching the true policy of our Government, the stronghold of its safety, and the source of the perils to which our free institutions are exposed, the soundness of which has been confirmed by the current events of our history, social and political, of every succeeding year. He said:

> "With us government is the protector of personal industry, talent, and happiness; and we are firmly persuaded that however luxury may, with the increase of wealth, diffuse itself among private individuals, frugality is the true policy of the State. . . . With us the great body of the citizens is sure to remain uncontaminated. We have far more to apprehend from the headlong ambition or downright corruption of those who are the depositories of power."

WILLIAM S. HOLMAN.

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DEMOCRACY AND MORAL PROGRESS.

MR. WALT WHITMAN, in his recent impetuous, impulsive, but original and striking book, "Specimen Days and Collect," p. 211, uses this strong language: "I say that our New World democracy, however great a success in uplifting the masses out of their slough, in materialistic developments, products, and in a certain highly deceptive superficial intellectuality, is, so far, an almost complete failure in its social aspects and in really grand religious, moral, literary, and æsthetic results. . . . It is as if we were somehow being endowed with a vast and more and more thoroughly appointed body, and then left with little or no soul." And again, p. 206: "For know you not, dear, earnest reader, that the people of our land may all read and write, and may all possess the right to vote, and yet the main things may be entirely lacking." These sentences express in a mild form opinions that are frequent in this remarkable volume, which, by the way, will be a surprise to some who regard their author as an altogether fleshly poet.

Now, Mr. Whitman speaks from experience. He has traveled over the country, has lived in remote parts of it, and has closely studied the people and their institutions. He is, moreover, an enthusiastic believer in republican government, perhaps the most ardent democrat living. This criticism is the result of his faith. He admonishes in the spirit of love. He is severe because he hopes so much, and sees so much to be at stake in the experiment of liberty.

To prognosticate the future of democracy is not an easy task, but oversensitiveness to fair criticism will not make it easier. The issues are concealed from all but honest and penetrating eyes; and even these must be clear of the film of prejudice. It is desirable to know the facts; but the facts are not readily accessible. Least of all will they disclose themselves to optimist or pessimist. The

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times have no doubt gone by when men like William Cowper can read aloud to ladies a book like "Joseph Andrews." But neither the reader nor the listeners could have looked without horror at the view presented by a modern ball-room, at the waltzes, polkas, and general dance movements of young men and women of society. Conscientiousness may have changed its front, while conscience may not have gained in sensibility. Immorality has assumed another form; but is it so certain that its character is essentially altered, or its degree abated?

"They tell me, Sir John," said George III. to one of his favorites, "that you love a glass of wine." "Those who have so informed your majesty," was the reply, "have done me great injustice. They should have said, a bottle." What courtier would venture, in these days, to make such a remark to a king? Even at banquets such drinking as was common among gentlemen, half a century ago, is unknown and would be considered disgraceful. The most refined people take very little wine, even of the lightest. This seems an immense advance. But who can say how much of the improvement may be due to moral principle, how much to the fashion of the period in which we live, and how much to the regard for the conditions of bodily health, so remarkable in an industrial age like our own, which obliges even gentlemen to have clear heads? No temperance indicates moral improvement but such as may be attributed to moral considerations. Respect for health or economy evinces a fine sort of selfishness, nothing more; and respect for fashionable usage does not indicate so much as that. The elegant English essayist, Robert L. Stevenson, suggests that Thoreau abstained from wine because, living in America, he never tasted any that was good. It is more likely that he abstained because he regarded the drinking of wine as a sensual indulgence; or because he dreaded the evil effects of it on society; or because he thought that, like tea and coffee, wine would deaden his vital power, and so diminish his enjoyment of nature. Either of these reasons may be esteemed noble. But it is not probable that many temperate people can claim motives as worthy for their temperance. If they could, a higher strain of conviction on this subject would prevail, a conviction that would close bar-rooms, and render "corner-groceries" unprofitable; for a power of moral conviction equal to this would raise the level of common opinion on the subject.

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In 1770, Horace Walpole wrote to a friend: "I do not know a tea-spoonful of news. I could tell you what was trumps, but that was all I heard." "The gaming," he said, "is worthy the decline of our empire. The young men lose five, ten, fifteen thousand pounds in an evening." Putting together the things best worth finding, Walpole enumerates: the longitude, the philosopher's stone, the certificate of the Duchess of Kingston's first marriage, the missing books of Livy, and all that Charles Fox had lost. The losses of Fox at the gaming table were notorious. Gambling was the fashion among gentlemen and ladies in that generation. To be in debt, to borrow money, was universal among people in society. So completely established was the custom that no disgrace, no feeling of moral degradation was attached to it. In spite of his recklessness, Fox not only kept his social position, but preserved his sweetness of character. Nothing of the kind would be possible now. Gambling has been remanded to the lower orders of men. The law is against it; custom frowns on it; the practice is banished from respectable company. But has it been exterminated, or has it merely assumed another form? A recent article in this Review on the "Ethics of Gambling," which some thought too severe, drew from a Western man a protest accompanied with terrible statistics, all going to show that the writer of the article had "hardly scratched the surface of the subject." The evil, it was maintained, threatened to undermine our institutions, being more virulent in a democracy than it was in the time of Fox, the fences which confined it to a certain class being taken down, and a coarser instinct being admitted to the gratification, the excitements of which are extended to business and politics as well as to amusement.

But will not popular education, so general under our democratic forms, correct this lamentable tendency? Alas! there is too much ground for thinking that education, instead of raising people above their level of actual attainment, simply supplies them with what they desire, and thus indirectly confirms in them a low standard of taste. Ideal, heroic, stimulating studies like Greek, Latin, Philosophy, are neglected for "useful" lessons in physics or dietetics. Besides, education waits on character; and, unless the style of character be lofty and strong, education may turn out to be a mischief, like putting improved tools into the hands of a burglar. Mr. Herbert Spencer, who called attention to this

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fact a generation ago in his "Social Statics," has lately repeated the warning. The old saying, "In much wisdom" (that is, learning) "is much grief," may be true in more senses than one; and its truth may be particularly evident in a democracy where it is left with average people to decide what shall be taught in schools. In a society like our own, the passion for "getting on" operates with fearful power upon intellectual ambition. Success is the goal toward which all are striving, and we know what success means. No doubt schools and libraries multiply, but these alone do not attest the moral elevation by which the growth of communities is measured. They are certainly to be encouraged, but along with them must go efforts at making a grander type of man; otherwise knowledge may prove a snare. In older countries ancient universities, institutes, the influence of an educated class, the traditions of centuries, guarantee the permanence of "liberal studies"; but here no such safeguards exist; the danger of accommodating to popular taste the standard of mental accomplishment is, consequently, greater with us than it is in England or on the continent of Europe.

Whether or no democratic institutions are favorable to political purity, may be left to the decision of those who will take the trouble to compare the ideal of our state with the condition of things actually existing in Washington, New York, or any center of political activity. The power of "the machine," the prevalence of "wire-pulling," the faith in party men and party measures, the confidence in partisan tactics, the strength of the doctrine that to the victor belong the spoils, the difficulty of establishing what seems the common-sense principle of Civil Service Reform, the general opinion that ours must always be an administration by parties, and that an administration by parties must from the nature of the case be to a considerable degree venal, do not promise a celestial Utopia either in the near or distant future. Granting that England's anticipation of the principle of merit in the choice of her civil functionaries may be due in a measure to her habit of keeping the appointment of officials in select hands, leaving to Government the task of appointing its servants, while politicians discuss other matters more within their conceded province, one might suppose that such an example, though not literally imitable, would act as an encouragement to the principle rather than as a disapproval of it,—might, at least, animate us to engraft so fine a

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system upon our democratic institutions and prove that republics can be just. The greatness of the difficulty in the United States ought to nerve Americans to the greater endeavor. Unfortunately, this inference is not often drawn. Politicians who have grown gray in service enthusiastically extol the advantages of the "spoils system," which, notwithstanding their eulogium, is practically the opprobrium of democratic politics, threatening more than anything else to drag our institutions through the mire. The few men who toil at efforts to elevate them must take the position of reformers, as if the principle they recommend were an innovation savoring of aristocracy. No sign so clearly indicates a tendency to ignoble greed as this, none so evidently exhibits a base appetite for "the loaves and fishes." In a word, statesmanship of the higher order is, by confession, rare in governments that regard statesmanship as a natural growth. The democratic faith in "the bare man" is hardly favorable to dignity or excellence of attainment, while the frequent change in official stations is all but fatal to stability of personal character. No doubt the future may repair the injury of the present time; but the evil is actual not prospective, and there is danger that it will become too deeply rooted to be eradicated without revolution. At all events, the situation can be mended now better than it can be half a century hence, and the hope of amendment, if it comes, will not be due to the average construc tion put upon the democratic idea, so much as to the prevalence of reason over instinct — that is, to moral rather than political causes.

Does democracy promise an elevation of the religious sentiment? That is too large a question to be answered here in a few sentences. One or two specifications must suffice. The writer of these lines attended lately an Episcopal church. It chanced to be Communion Sunday, when the mystery of supernatural grace was to be celebrated for the spiritual benefit of believers. The minister, a "broad Churchman,"— so very broad that he passed over the distinctions which are understood to divide the "faithful" from the "faithless,"— gave an invitation that might have been accepted by a Unitarian, a Deist, a Rationalist: an invitation harder to resist than that of an old-fashioned Socinian. This was a concession to the untheological spirit so prevalent in our communities. But was it an evidence of a moral advance as it was, unquestionably, of a sentimental one? Is it a sign of

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moral advance that a distinguished "orthodox" preacher, an American of Americans, a democrat in the grain, applies the epithet "hideous" to doctrines which he himself calls "fundamental to the whole orthodox theology of the world"? Such a declaration is entirely in accordance with the general democratic sentiment, but certainly it is inconsistent with orthodox profession. The wonder is that it should be so loudly applauded by people of exact thinking, who ought to know the meaning of language. This circumstance alone shows how deeply the democratic sentiment has penetrated into the recesses of the mind and has obliterated the ancient distinctions of creed. The doctrine that one man is as good as another leads to an abrogation of the supernatural belief on which the church rests, and must, sooner or later, disintegrate the unity of faith. This appears from the satisfaction with which hearty democrats welcome the leveling of religious distinctions, the overthrow of ecclesiastical barriers, the abolition of doctrinal tests. In a word, the restoration of moral fiber to the religious sense will scarcely come through an extension of the democratic principle as commonly understood.

Mr. Emerson, in his address on the "Progress of Culture," read before the Phi Beta Kappa Society, at Cambridge, July 18, 1867, enumerates the astonishing gains made by the republican idea within a few years, with the comment: "Now, if any one say we have had enough of these boastful recitals, then I say, happy is the land wherein benefits like these have grown trite and commonplace." Mr. Emerson, as we know, was a dauntless optimist, and his prophecy was made nearly twenty years ago, soon after the remarkable outbreak of hopefulness which followed the civil war. After the virtual abolition of slavery, everything seemed possible in America. All questions found on easy answer. The energy of the people had not subsided, and might be counted on as adequate to the severest tasks. Candor compels the admission that the enthusiastic prediction has not been fulfilled. Some of the reforms have not been accomplished; others have been achieved in advance of us by aristocratic communities, like that of England, for example; several were wrought out under the sway of selfish motives, "the search for just rules affecting labor," "the insurance of life and limb," for instance. "The marked ethical quality of the innovations urged and adopted" which the orator insists on, must

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not be hastily accredited to the democratic idea, whatever may be our opinion of its reality. Similar results attend the progress of civilization in all countries. The reform in regard to women is more advanced in London than in New-York, at Cambridge than at Harvard. The agitation for the abolition of capital punishment, for the sanitary arrangement of prisons, for the elevation of the working classes, goes on in Europe as energetically as here; in fact, much more so, most of the literature appertaining to those subjects being imported from abroad, through England. Let us admit that there is moral progress; but let us admit, at the same time, that the progress is a result of civilization in the world, not in the Western Hemisphere especially. It may, indeed, be ascribed to the growth of a humanitarian principle, but it is not yet demonstrated that this principle attains its best results under an unrestricted democracy. The modified democracy of Great Britain, under what Mr. M. D. Conway has well called "a crowned republic," may, in the end, prove favorable to ethical interests. It is, at all events, pertinent to ask in what degree moral advance is indebted to the effort necessary to overcome obstacles. Thus far the experience of mankind proves that "easy virtue" is but another name for vice. Moral endeavor usually precedes moral improvement. Reform must not be facile; if it is, the moral element will assuredly be wanting in its composition. The drift of nature is not toward moral perfection, unless we include in nature the regenerating forces which keep it up to its highest level by stimulating the intellectual and spiritual powers. Democracy reckons on the force of unrestrained human nature; but that is force of unrestrained instinct, and force of unrestrained instinct has not hitherto held out promise of moral elevation. Does it appear likely that America will reverse the tradition of all the ages by rendering discipline superfluous? Is there evidence that raw liberty is the one condition needful for "realizing the infinite"? Does observation show that the tendency of our business, society, literature, is heavenward? Listen to the talk of our parlors; look at the popular books or papers; consider the degradation of the stage, made a platform for the display of personal attractions; note the passion for scenic effect, for decoration, for amusement. Such traits do not proclaim, surely, the triumph of soul over sense. Are these the heralds that announce the coming of the Son of Man?

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It may be conceded that the enormous production of wealth in America, coupled with its general diffusion among all classes of men, is favorable to the prevalence in centers of wealth, all over the country, of the outward attributes of civilization — costly pictures, houses, drapery, dresses, carriages, horses, entertainments. It may even be conceded that forms of social elegance and refinement of manners, accompanied by accomplishments in music, painting, languages, may be found in remote places of the continent where money has accumulated. Wealth enables many to travel in foreign lands. The railroads make communication easy. Visitors come from far-off cities. There must be theaters, opera-houses, lecture halls. The Old World sends its dukes, scholars, writers, artists of every description, to see the country, or to make gain out of its inhabitants; they must be received, attended to, imitated. European ideas, ways, institutions are thus domesticated in our large towns; European fashions take root. This is inevitable. In some respects it works us harm by overlaying our native growth; in other respects it does us good by introducing the results of mature experience. But whether it brings harm or good the product of the contribution should not be attributed to the spread of democratic ideas. Institutions are not responsible for what money has bought; as little can democracy claim what aristocracy has created.

One may go so far as to admit that lovely manners and high conversation are found in many a Western city, without granting the regenerating efficacy of democratic principles. For, where those principles have full sway, such admirable products are least common. Hear what the "Nation," of September 28, 1882, has to say bearing on these points:

> "A life of money-getting in the United States is now usually wound up by the construction of a palace, in which a successful dry-goods man, or pork-packer, or operator in stocks drags out the evening of his days in the midst of taste and splendor, for the enjoyment of which he has neither a natural nor acquired capacity."

If any are unwilling to accept the judgment of the "Nation" on the ground that it is not a fervent advocate of republican ideas, they may be inclined to listen to the Boston "Herald," a paper against which no such accusation can be made. Says the "Herald":

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"It is a matter of national shame and regret that our moneyed aristocracy is more idealess and frivolous than was ever any other aristocracy, past or present. Because, in all foreign aristocracies there is a certain percentage of persons who give a good account of themselves in literature, reflective thought, science, and art. But our *born* moneyed class are *minus* any intellectual achievements, for which they have such splendid opportunities of leisure, travel, and culture."

This is a severer verdict than that pronounced by the "Nation," and it comes from a city that is famous in revolutionary history, the home of Theodore Parker, and of Wendell Phillips, and of Charles Sumner, to name no other champions of the people's liberty. The "Herald's" charge cannot be put by with the assertion that ours is a young country; for "if such things can be done in the green tree, what may be done in the dry"? Nor can it be set aside by saying that the true democratic spirit has not yet gone into operation, for that is the precise point in question, Has it, or has it not? If it has, the description above quoted stands uncorrected. If it has not, the sooner a new quality is introduced into it the better. Neither paper tells the whole story of American society, for neither paper makes allowance for the influence of woman, which is more actively prevailing in the United States than it is anywhere in Europe or England, and is mainly the cause of whatever social refinement there is. Still, we must remember that women are not as yet responsible for the working of democratic institutions, nor is their influence to be counted in any fair estimate of the advantage hoped for from the democratic idea. Theirs is the use of money earned by laborious husbands and fathers; theirs is the leisure; theirs the opportunity and the desire for travel; theirs the love of music, the taste for pictures, the passion for grace and beauty in the house; for richness and elegance of dress; for luxury of effect; but theirs is not, thus far, a direct accountability for the success or failure of the popular system. Whether they will ever share such accountability, or whether their full participation will prove a benefit, remains a matter of mere conjecture. Here, it is enough to say that whatever bloom they add to our democracy is purely feminine, due to their genius, not to the democratic idea. That is in male hands, and has not, hitherto, given conspicuous promise of glory.

But now it is time to present the other side, to look for the signs of hope in republican institutions. On any fair estimate, the emancipation of moral power, without regard to social conditions,

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may justly be put down as a result of the democratic idea. If the republican principle lets loose the lower passions of human nature, it grants full freedom to the exercise of the higher. It removes obstacles; it pulls down barriers; it throws open the field of conscience. Under it all power is available, whether of man or woman; and moral power is honored in the person of its possessor, however humble or however elevated he may be. Respect is paid to the person, not to the circumstance. In monarchical or despotic communities qualities, to be recognized, must bear the stamp of class dignity, rank, or title. The worthy cause must be taken up by some outwardly accredited authority. Plebeian virtue, except in very extraordinary cases, is undemonstrative or disallowed. But a republic gives to all an equal chance and stimulates to activity every particle of spiritual vigor. To appreciate the degree in which this is the case, one must have an opportunity of contrasting the moral liberty that is permitted by our forms with the limitation that is placed on intellectual endeavor in countries which are only comparatively free like England. Even there the spell of conventional respectability lies heavily on all but a few choice spirits. Hence the angry, violent, explosive force with which conscience breaks out whenever occasion offers or evils become unbearable. Hence socialism, communism, nihilism, in their different phases, which present the sense of right as destructive or anarchical. As Emerson puts it:

"The opinion of the million was the terror of the world, and it was attempted either to dissipate it by amusing nations, or to pile it over with strata of society — a layer of soldiers; over that a layer of lords, and a king on the top; with clamps and hoops of castles, garrisons, and police. The Fultons and Watts of politics, believing in unity, saw that it was a power; and by satisfying it (as justice satisfies everybody) through a different disposition of society,—grouping it on a level, instead of piling it into a mountain,—they have contrived to make of this terror the most harmless and energetic form of a state."

The truth of this is apparent in the efforts at reform which are conspicuous in America, and which can be traced directly to the democratic principle; in the concern of leading minds for the welfare of the people; in the examples of public spirit; in the consecration of talent to the general good; in the prevalence of "isms,"— a wild, but certain sign of aspiration after unattained excellence. A striking feature of moral reform in America is the participation in it of the best minds, the noblest souls, the

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men and women of choicest nurture and highest social position. Such feel most keenly their responsibility for the system they live under. They are not idlers, not place-hunters, not pleasure seekers, but free givers of time and strength to the cause of popular enlightenment and progress. These, though few, led the assault on slavery. These are champions of civil service equity. These try to get at the heart of socialism and kindred movements which enlist, in the Old World, the ignorant, passionate, thoughtless, who, having none to fight for them, fight for their own side. In America, to be gifted as a reformer is regarded as a privilege even by reformers themselves.

It has been said that the democratic principle, as commonly interpreted and exemplified, takes the moral fiber out of religion; and so, hitherto, it has done. But the natural must come before the spiritual; the sentimental precedes the intellectual. In the transition from theological dogmatism to intelligent truth, the way lies through aversion to definite opinions. Charity, which covers a multitude of sins, goes in advance of character, which is the fruit of spiritual ideas, and which presupposes thought; so that the present disintegration may prepare the religious mind for some worthier statement of doctrine. The broad church may yet serve as an introduction to the true church, which in due time will be established by the free endeavor of spirits at once enlightened and devout,—spirits that are more concerned to find what is true than what is comfortable, what will save than what will please. Thus the boundless freedom of our institutions will be made to work compensation for the slip-shod character of much of our speculation.

In fact, one can hardly say enough about the far-reaching tendency of the most cultivated men and women in our communities, whether writers, preachers, journalists, professors, or obscure toilers. A foreign physician of great distinction in his own country was so fascinated by the opportunity afforded in New York that he resolved to establish himself there, though his relatives lived in Germany, and his reputation as a specialist was fixed in Vienna, while here living was expensive and he had every thing to do. What a commentary on the educated Americans who turn their backs on their own country and live abroad because it is cheaper and easier!

All that can be justly claimed for the democratic idea is opportunity, but opportunity includes all promise; a word of

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urgent exhortation must be spoken, therefore, to teachers, preachers, authors, guides of public opinion, on whom the fulfillment of this promise depends. They must work hard if they would counteract the downward tendencies of democratic ideas as vulgarly expounded. Theirs is no holiday task. They are put upon their intelligence and their honor. They seem to be few and far apart in space, but their influence is great, and one bond unites them — the desire to lift democracy from the dust and answer cavilers by facts. Our cause — the cause of a pure democracy or rule of the people — is at stake. Our achievement is in the time to come, not in time past or present. Our victory is yet to win, and it is to be won over those who maintain that the rule of the people in their own behalf is an illusion which experience will rudely dispel. It is for true believers in the republic to prove such a prediction untrue. Where there is no government to prescribe opinion, but only public sentiment, which reflects the controlling mind of the many, the influence of the wisest and best is of the greatest importance. If what has been said is true, the question of the moral import of the democratic system is not a matter of years but of direction, and direction is not the same thing as tendency. Tendency represents unassisted impulse. Direction stands for the utmost that can be achieved by effort. Tendency is the bent of the prevailing will. Direction is the turn of that will to noble ends.

O. B. FROTHINGHAM.

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NEEDED REFORMS IN PRISON MANAGEMENT.

REFORMS are needed. The jails of to-day are, with here and there an exception, substantially what Howard in the eighteenth century found jails to be. The fault is largely due to construction. Jails on the "Pennsylvania Plan," supplying separate confinement for each prisoner, will provide the needed reforms for jails. Prisons of later date, designed not only for detention but punishment as well, have scarcely been improved, though of prison associations and boards there are many, and prison congresses, State, National and International, have been held, with their valuable discussions and issue of reports. Prisons for reformation are still of later origin, but they do not reform in any such general and efficient way as to perceptibly affect the volume of recorded crimes. Given the number of the population to the square mile, with absence of war, pestilence, famine, or monetary revulsions, it is said the annual aggregate of crimes in a district may be as accurately foretold as the death-rate of a people can be calculated by Carlisle's tables. Then, there is abroad a popular demand for reforms; the communistic sentiment of the time calls for them, hoping for pecuniary benefits, and the politician echoes the cry for partisan effect, while the press and the populace repeat it from motives selfish or sentimental as the case may be. Finally, the thoughtful, the philanthropic and public-spirited, saddened at sight of so much sin and alarmed at the growth of crime, ask for an advance in both the theory and practice of "crime treatment," that crimes may be diminished and criminals reclaimed. With so much room for reforms, the general demand cannot properly be put aside; there must be underneath it all a common source of good impulse that needs only to be rightly directed.

The first great need in this matter is a better sentiment, among prison governors and the public, as to the true pur-

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pose of prisons and treatment of criminals for crime. There is an almost universal demand for retaliation, or at best a retributing of evil for evil. What the public sense for the time approves is named justice, but that is often a misnomer: for, under the name of justice, injustice is inflicted upon criminals, and through improper release of confirmed criminals, before or after conviction, society is unjustly dealt with. This popular demand, as expressed in our criminal laws and their administration, is the bane of good government, either encourages the criminal or consigns him to degradation, and tends to confirm rather than cure the criminal traits of character. Could this current sentiment be replaced with the passionless demand that every criminal when once fairly convicted shall be reasonably cured of his criminality as the only condition of freedom again, the primary requisite for reformed prison management would be reached. Neither punishment for the sake of it, nor pardon for the pleasure of it, but punishment and pardon, either or both, when promotive of reformation—that is the only real security society can have from known criminals. Suitable laws and systems of prison management based on such a sentiment will supply the second needed reform, namely: A motive operating powerfully upon criminals to cause them to relinquish their practices and return to regular industry with right use of citizenship.

An analysis of human motives brings us always to avoidance of pain or pursuit of pleasure as the active principle in conduct; but since one man's pain is another's pleasure, and by the marvelous instinctive adjustment to environment the pain of to-day sometimes becomes the pleasure of to-morrow, it is simply impossible by any schedule of predetermined penalties to supply for the mass of criminals an adequate deterrent or reformative motive. The history of crimes and punishments throughout the civilized world sustains the statement of Beccaria, that the public mind becomes habituated to penalties, so that in the space of a hundred years the gibbet terrifies no more than fines or imprisonment. No doubt the innate love of liberty and natural repugnance to the privations of imprisonment are facts with all men, and warrant the general application of imprisonment for crime. It is not possible, however, and therefore not properly the province of legislation, to precisely prescribe either the pains or duration of imprisonment. These, within due bounds, should

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be left to the prison governors, to be determined and varied from time to time for reformation, according to the idiosyncrasy and ever-changing subjective state of the criminal in confinement. Prison governors thus charged with the protection of society from fresh crimes by criminals, through their cure or continued restraint, are clothed with great powers, and should be held to strict accountability. They must not be trammeled by the meddlesome interference of partisanship, whether political or religious. Due protection from criminals, involving as it does their reformation or detention in custody, naturally necessitates a systematic if not positively a scientific treatment, which is only practicable when the prisons are on a plane above, beyond, and outside of partisanship or prejudice. Therefore, the third needed reform is here stated to be the removal of prison management entirely out of the sphere of partisan politics and denominationalism.

Coming now to the more practical reforms, which may be wrought at will when the three above-named general conditions exist, the first to be named is a classification of criminals immured. There has sprung up a kind of natural separation of different classes of criminals, but it is imperfect and ineffective. The sexes in prison are uniformly separated; unless there is an exceptional and exceptionable county-jail where the sexes are allowed to mingle, the principle of sex separation in prison is usually accepted. In some of the States where the color line remains, the separation of whites and blacks is necessary or politic; in European or northern prisons it is unnecessary. The separation of youthful from mature criminals is conceded to be serviceable. The very plausible idea that prisoners should be classified "according to the character and circumstances of the crime" is fallacious, if the object is to protect the novice from the contamination of experienced criminals; for it is a common fact that first offenders are guilty of high crimes and habitual criminals commit venial offenses. The technical title of the crime is not a sure index of the offender's character. There are, of course, professional criminals addicted to particular crimes that call for and develop distinctive traits, but comparatively few criminals are "professionals," and even these turn aside sometimes to crimes of another grade; while all grades of crime attract and engage the youthful and inexperienced. The distinctions of the criminal statutes are based mainly on the amount of damage done, which

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is often determined by accident. The same hand and intent may govern the harmless thrust and drive home the deadly stiletto; larceny is of one degree or another according to the opportunity to steal; the burglar breaks and enters usually without thought or knowledge of the statutory definitions determining the grade of his crime. For purposes of classification, conduct in prison, as conduct is generally rated by prison officials, is not a satisfactory criterion, but it is possible to make it so. Under a prison system that gives play to the natural impulses of the prisoner when in contact with conditions somewhat analogous to free society, the fitness for free life may be very accurately ascertained. The experienced prison manager must remember surprises when his good man in prison has gone "to the dogs" on his release, while the troublesome customer has turned out well. All these facts of sex, color, age, crime, and conduct may have an influence in classifying criminals; but none of them, separately considered, constitutes the true basis. It is the real diversity of character among them, to be discerned after the wisest scrutiny and fullest opportunity to apply tests from time to time. The scrutiny must include somewhat of the ancestral history, much of the early environment, and a careful personal examination of the criminal himself as to his physical quality and condition, his mental capacity and culture or unculture, and also his moral susceptibility and his sensitiveness or apathy in view of his crime and its consequences.

Classification may be effected by a general separation of prisoners into two divisions immediately on conviction, either by the sentence of the court or the central governing authority of the prisons themselves, the susceptible to one division, the apparently incorrigible to another, subject to transfer afterward by the prison governors from one division to the other to perfect this general classification. The prisoners of a State may thus be separated in different prison establishments or in a single prison. In the division of susceptibles, the ruling aim in administration would naturally be reformation and early restoration to liberty; and for the other, the incorrigibles, a more rigorous *régime* would be provided, and probably a longer period of detention would be required. The further classification within the two general divisions and in each separate establishment thereof should be into three grades without separation; that is to say, with limited and supervised association,

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and then progress toward liberation to be so conditioned that it shall involve of necessity on the part of the prisoner an actual progress of reformation.

Another much-needed practical reform is the compulsory education of prisoners. It is high time the farce were ended of placing criminals in durance, to be worked simply for the profits of their labor, preached to and soon released, unchanged, upon the community. There is no protection without reformation, and there is no reformation without education. The criminal must outgrow his criminality, and the growth can be, and therefore should be, forced if necessary. Education, using the term in its broad and comprehensive sense, is at once the means, and the process, and no other word so well expresses the product we call reformation. It involves training to proper self-regulation and to efficient industrial application, and at least an increase of mental and moral illumination. The present practice of releasing criminals without improved impulses, unfitted for and without access to decent associations, without visible means of support, whether of money, occupation or capacity; but, on the other hand, as is too often the case, with an added impulse and power for evil, is both absurd and dangerous. Said a convict: "We reached New York at evening with what remained of the five dollars given at the door of the prison when released that day. I had a merry night of it, and was immediately on the road again."

Mr. George W. Cable estimates at a quarter of a million the ex-convicts abroad in the United States, of which there must be in New York full twenty thousand. The Secretary of State reports, for 1881, the names of eleven hundred and twenty-nine convicts dismissed during that year from the three long-term prisons alone, while of felons and misdemeanants both it is safe to say that there are ten thousand of them annually emptied from the prisons into society in the same State. The country is overrun with released criminals, carrying to the youth of the classes they mingle with the contamination of their own criminal character. Let the prisons be renovated. Put away retribution, restrain sentimentalism; sentence criminals to be restrained or reformed as they may elect or be able; then wield this mighty motive, their love of liberty, for their education until they properly discern between right and wrong as principles of action, until the better impulses instinctively preponderate, and sufficient strength of mind and will is developed to consummate the

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good choice when tempted to evil. And, for those that will not or, unfortunately, cannot receive such culture, let them remain restrained to such extent and in such manner as best protects society from their further crimes.

The prisoner put through this training should, on his return to society, have a fair chance to build himself up, and it is the duty as well as the wise policy of the State, through proper officers, to see that he has it. It will be a most salutary reform when the prisoner, previous to his final release from legal restraint, is completely rehabilitated. He must be actually introduced into suitable permanent employment, surrounded with reasonably good influences, and should be officially supervised until the habit is formed of saving from his earnings, serving faithfully, and properly behaving himself in ordinary society. Passing, while in confinement, through a graduated course of training, so conditioned that actual progress of improvement must be made, he is, on reaching a point of probable safe release, at once restored to the rights, the privileges, and the obligations, too, of good citizenship, to be under observation until established in well-doing and re-adjusted to current affairs. He is thus protected from the temptations of idleness, friendlessness, and unrestrained liberty; at the same time, through the fact of his legal liabilities persisting for a time, his new found purposes and powers are stimulated, and society retains some guarantee against further criminal conduct. This is not the English ticket-of-leave system, though somewhat similar. There is an important difference, for the English system involves police supervision, keeping the prisoner within the category of suspects and in contact with the governmental machinery for the detection and conviction of criminals; while this is parole under State guardianship, and he is responsible to officers who seek his security in a right use of liberty, instead of detectives, district attorneys, and the directors of penitentiaries who seek his conviction and confinement.

In the disciplinary government of prisoners, for individual treatment the *en masse* plan needs to be substituted. Officers must be better informed of the differentia of criminals as a class and from each other. The Spanish writer, Señor Arenal, says:

"In the prisoner who steals, two things are observable,—the thief and the man. The thief constitutes the diseased part, the man the sound part. No two are alike; so that two men breaking the law under the same external circumstances may enter upon imprisonment with impressions totally dif-

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ferent. The malady may be the same, but the internal resources to vanquish it will greatly vary."

Failing to perceive this, outraged society sometimes crushes the man with the criminal, or fosters the criminal with sentimentalism lavished upon the man. Prison officers, seeing only the criminal, constantly antagonizing him, conserve not the man until manliness from disuse dies out, while the criminal by the activity of opposition thrives and becomes strong. These diverse qualities, differently combined, discoverable in every criminal, are of necessity to be treated in conjunction: to repress the one and develop the other is the process of reformation; evil cannot be cured with evil; not until evil is overcome of good is any man reformed. To discern the one from the other in the same individual requires a competent, thoughtful, interested mind constantly in contact with criminals; and when this personal work is properly done by the chief officer of a prison, he will be as accessible to all as is the principal of a school or manager of a manufactory. Then will better results be wrought, and vain will be the search for neglect and cruelty often publicly charged and investigated.

Since imprisonment is for protection, the disciplinary management should be not punitive but remedial; prison punishments for correction only, never for retribution, give perfection of discipline in proportion to the wisdom and skill of the governors. Legislative restrictions and public accusations, revealing as they do a lack of confidence, often necessitate severities that would not otherwise be required. The limits of vested authority in this matter must be broad: good discipline means the voluntary cheerful obedience of prisoners with the least of punishments. The favorable conditions for it are:

First.—Power vested in the managers.

Second.—Power wisely used for remedial ends alone.

Third.—Power, in action, closely scrutinized.

The demagogic demand for reform in the industrial employment of prisoners does not, judging from the reasons publicly given, entitle it to space here for discussion. That prisoners confined under sentence must be employed, nobody will deny; their employment mainly at mechanical pursuits is a necessity if they are to be reclaimed, and also almost a custodial disciplinary and pecuniary necessity if irreclaimable. If, then, prisoners are to be employed, and at mechanical work, it matters little,

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as prisons now are, whether it be by the contract system or on the public account plan. The latter may be made more favorable to reformation in prisons where that object is rationally sought. There is no positive difference as relates to labor and mercantile competition. The amount of income to be derived by the State will be greater or less from either system, according to circumstances; the proportion of income does not inhere in either. Under classification, as previously described, the industries of the incorrigible division would be mainly for production of income, and naturally on the contract system, though not necessarily so. The real incorrigibles constitute less than one-half of the prisoners of the State, so that there would be at once a diminution of convict contract labor equal to full fifty per cent. of the whole, which, with wise selection of industries for them, ought, when they are earning their own subsistence, as they could easily do, to satisfy all who now sincerely oppose the convict contract system.

The susceptible class should and would be employed at a greater variety of trades, including some of the higher mechanic arts; employed on public account or under a modified form of contract, as by the piece or process, or on the principle of partitioning the profits of each separate industry between the State and expert managers, whose office would mainly be to prepare the prisoners for success in business when released. This last is the really needed reform in prison industries, namely: that the purpose shall be to place the prisoner on release in such a position in society as he would or should have filled had he refrained from crime and been a good citizen. That it were better for all if the criminal had found active, honorable place in legitimate industry, all must admit; it follows, then, that it is best for all that he be fitted while imprisoned for such place. No fair-minded man, manufacturer, mechanic, or laborer, will object to such employment for such an end. To classify and employ prisoners in this way will go far toward settling the difficulties that now environ the prison labor question.

Yet another reform is needed. It is in the ministrations of religion to prisoners. Reform its partisanship; it is too often factitious or feeble, and is fragmentary. The religious influencing of prisoners must be made a part of a unified system of their general treatment; it properly belongs to the educational function. Because the mass of criminals in prison are below the

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point of development where ordinary religious influences can lodge, a preliminary preparation of cultivation is absolutely necessary: obstacles to the apprehension as well as reception of religious ideas and benign spiritual energies must be cleared away. The religious development of any people is dependent on varied social influences; the wise religious guide brings us to the recognition of religion in our practical life: so the teacher of religion to prisoners needs to harmonize his work with other departments of the prison administration, and adapt his instructions to the particular state and condition of the criminal. There is room for improvement in the time and manner of such ministrations. A systematic course of teaching should supplement simple exhortation, and a steady pressure of truth and moral means with (rather than against) the industrial and purely educational efforts, should replace desultory and sentimental methods. The great mass of first offenders may be reformed, and but a small proportion of prisoners are irreclaimable when with right means and methods reclamation is really sought. Every reformatory prison should reproduce the conditions of free life as near as may be; the requirements of good citizenship should be enforced upon prisoners until they show their purpose and ability to comply with them when released.

There are, then, three classes of reforms to be brought about by these several familiar agencies: 1st, separate confinement in jails for all prisoners therein, the creating of a better public sense of the true purpose of imprisonment, and the removal of prisons from all partisan interference,—these to be brought about by agitation and suitable legislation; 2d, the classification of prisoners, their education while in prison, and their complete rehabilitation when released, to be accomplished by the general governing administration of prisons with suitable legislation; 3d, the industrial and remedial treatment, with thorough preparatory industrial and moral training. Some who read this paper will live to see such a prison system generally adopted. Its feasibility is fully confirmed by the success of present experiments. With the reforms here named, crime will feel the force of repression, its recorded aggregate will diminish, or at least its present rank growth will be stayed.

Z. R. Brockway.

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SCIENCE AND THE IMAGINATION.

Do we not all give ourselves needless anxiety by defining the province of art, and denouncing whatever will not fit into our definition, and by magnifying the difference between science and literature? These appear to be separate sources of trouble, but possibly they are not so remote from each other as may at first appear. Art, we are told, has to do with the emotions, and the emotions are as sharply distinguished from the intellect as are the various regions on a phrenologist's cast of the head. It is the duty of the painter, for instance, we are fond of saying, to represent the emotions by means of his brushes and pigments, and with that he is to stop. The same rule applies to literature. Yet, although a painter belongs to a profession that more, perhaps, than any other depends on tricks and rule of thumb, does he examine the emotions till he finds one unrepresented and proceed to illustrate that? Does a poet run over the work of his contemporaries until he notices that one passion, as, for example, jealousy, has been for some time neglected, and then try to fill up the the gap? Possibly this is the way Joanna Baillie wrote her plays, but then Joanna Baillie was not a poet.

Fortunately, the artist concerns himself very little about the province of art. The critics may define this as they please; he is inspired, not by their definitions, but by the tendency of the thought of his time. This is what makes him what he is. In other words, our painters and poets are what we make them. If we, the public, are vulgar and ignoble in our tastes and thoughts and actions, their work will be vulgar and ignoble, and it cannot be otherwise. Simply preaching to artists that their work should be grand and elevating can be of no more use than telling a number of convicts that they ought to be good. We may describe the province of art with the utmost fullness, but the painter draws his inspiration from the life about him,

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not from books on æsthetics; he reflects the sentiments of his time rather than the text-books.

It may be urged that the paintings of a man like Millet by no means represent with accuracy the gaudy materialism of the Second Empire, and that hence our statement falls to the ground. Yet Millet no more created the insight into the pathos of humble life which makes his pictures genuine than he created the poverty and misery which touch our hearts in his paintings. The history of literature in the last hundred years enables us to see the growth of interest in the pauper, just as in politics we see the spread of democracy, which is the expression in practical life of the same feeling. Society, we must remember, is but the resultant of all individual aims and actions; art and literature are two of the forms in which it leaves the record of its interests and enthusiasms, just as politics is its practical expression.

A study of the analogy between literature and art would be most interesting, but, if complete, it would carry us too far from our present discussion. Whatever period we might take for examination, we should find a similarity between the two; not necessarily an equality of value, but similarity of aims. Thus, at the present day, the delight of some contemporary bards in making over the past, in pretending to be Chaucer or an early Italian poet, finds its expression also in the pictures of some of the English artists. Urging them to take different views of the province of art would be to indulge in declamation. Yet the phenomenon of the neo-romanticism of the present day does not, as we all know, show that our whole society is abandoned to wailing and picturesque masquerade; it is merely a sign that a number of people possess a certain taste which the rest of us are too weak or too much divided by opposing counsels to expel. These antics are but an eddy in the great movement of art and literature, which is as indifferent to the worship of the peacock and the lily as the great mass of voters are to old brocades. Poetry is not dead, in spite of the contemporary revival of euphuism, nor is painting a lost art because some painters turn their backs on the present and pretend to be somebody else.

If not all the work done now is marred by materialism or affectation, it is because a truer inspiration survives, which shuns materialism on the one hand and mock mediævalism on the other. The best thought is generally an exception; only at rare

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intervals does it express the wide-spread fervor and engrossing interest of a country, as in the flowering of Greece and in the age of Elizabeth. Then, the surplus energy and exultant self-confidence of a whole people, not being distracted by the need of action, made an outlet for themselves in artistic expression. In this country, on the other hand, the constant demand for practical work has lessened the number of those who might otherwise have devoted themselves to art and literature, and it has also diminished the strength of whatever inspiration there might be. In politics we see the same experience repeated. We may take for example the vicissitudes of what is familiarly called the Tweed Ring. The existence of a band of plunderers, although but vaguely felt, was no secret to the inhabitants of New York. Yet, for a long time they took no steps toward freeing themselves from the incubus. The costliness of the city government was as well known to them as is the expensiveness of the municipal buildings to the people of Philadelphia, or the extravagance of what is called the junketing of common councilmen to the citizens of Boston. The revolt against Tweed came only when his misrule was too costly for endurance, too gross for toleration. Then selfish instincts relaxed their hold, and in a spasm of virtue the city rid itself of its enemies. The same materialism stands in the way of art and literature, excellence in which stands for virtue in the body politic. In all, the ideal is difficult of attainment. To have addressed the people on the province of politics would have been as idle as to read aloud to a man clambering up a steep cliff extracts from Newton's "Principia" on the law of gravitation. The discussion of the province of art is apt to be equally barren. The artist will never listen to it; he will paint his pictures in accordance with the feeling of his time, or, at best, of the few who, in his estimation, represent the highest imagination and best thought of his time. What he shall paint, what the poet shall write, lies in the control of every one of us, just as the policy of our government lies in the hands of its citizens. The impotence of a single vote is depressing, but it is the accumulation of single votes that controls the nation. We are the atoms that combine to form public opinion, that by our interests and enthusiasms and opinions on practical life and abstract questions form the ideal which poets and painters set before us. They teach us by showing us what we really are. The complete picture of society is given in a nation's literature and art. If the general interest in the higher

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life is languid, these two representations of thought and feeling also languish. When we lament that art and literature are dying, it is because we are sick of our own image. They must die in us before they can die in the hands of artists.

Mere sporadic interest in things of the imagination and abstract thought is not enough. It must be widespread, or, at least, of weight in some prominent class before it can be in any way effectual. It is fair to hope that the larger the constituency, the better the representation. We may see in the fate of French tragedy the best that a small, carefully chosen class could accomplish; in comparison with the Elizabethan drama, which embodied the fervor of a whole nation, it seems cold and meager. When a people desires to possess a literature because every other country has one, it gets one that is manufactured rather than inspired, as unlike the natural growth as the books bought in a lump by the *nouveau riche* are unlike those collected by a man who reads. The French epics and the early Italian tragedies are an example of work done from a sense of duty. There always seems to be a great waste in the working of natural forces, and there is an analogous loss in the scattered, uncombined zeal which animates small circles here and there and fails to inspire a healthy general sentiment.

We see the same thing illustrated in politics. The eagerness of politicians in our behalf is the measure of our attention to our civic and national duties. It is only a general enthusiasm that can establish, for instance, civil service reform in this country; and what is true of this is true of politics in general. The quality of our art, whether of architecture, sculpture, painting, music, or literature—not necessarily any particular one or all of these—is the measure of the amount and nature of our imagination.

A hasty glance at any given period will not determine all that is going on in it. The eye is readily caught by a glitter which covers nothing solid. At the present day it is not the artificial revelry of the poets that expresses the feelings of the people; these possibly come nearer to finding their expression in the reaction which Walt Whitman, for example, announces against prettiness of expression and neatness of rhyme. He is, to be sure, riddled with obvious faults, on which it is not necessary to dilate. He continually offends the laws of taste and every principle of literary sanity; yet this is inevitable. It is hard to contradict impressively and yet with grace; and what

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this writer does is to contradict the whole method of his time, to denounce current mannerism, and to put in its place absolute frankness. Every man who has sufficient enthusiasm to found a new method pays for it by the loss of wise judgment. The tilt that is given by extreme fervor alone inspires action; an absolutely sane man would doubtless remain forever in a condition of stable equilibrium; he would see so clearly the good and bad side of everything that he would not stir a finger. A dash of fanaticism, whether it incline us to charity, to art, to literature, or to self-indulgence, purchases accomplishment in one direction at the cost of failure in another. In short, fallible man has the faults of his qualities. Then, too, the leader in a new movement is unable to perceive clearly the best way in which a reform is to be made. He sees no errors that others have committed, which might serve as warnings; he makes all the mistakes for himself; but if he has the divine spark his method will live and grow clearer with the sincere work of every follower, until it gives way in its turn before some new development of thought.

Every change begins awkwardly, for nothing but practice can secure smoothness. English tragedy could not have been foreseen in *Gorboduc*, and it would have been hard to detect the full efflorescence of modern sentiment in Lillo's *George Barnwell*. Then, too, even reformers are hampered by their education. Zola, for example, detests romanticism, but it is easy to see in many of his novels that he, too, breathed the air of his time when he was young, and that he bears the mark of his early faith as truly as the ex-priest can hardly fail to show that he was once in orders.

In Walt Whitman and Zola we may see how literature is drawing its inspiration from some of the leading influences of the time, and notably from the general progress of mankind toward democracy. For more than a century society has been at work destroying the conventions which were raised with infinite pains, and literary conventions have felt the revolutionary spirit. The province of art has been changing with the varying tastes of men, so that while its past limitations may be defined, its possible growth in the future is not necessarily to be according to generally accepted rules. The rise of science is destructive to conventions. Freedom is the very breath of science, and the general free movement of boundless human curiosity cannot fail to affect literature. The movement toward realism is one instance of this. The precision of thought which science en-

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courages cannot fail to become a habit which shall show itself in purely literary work. For an example, the destruction of the theory of special creation must affect literature by requiring that writers should shun incoherence, and should look upon the mere accumulation of psychological impossibilities, however impressive, as no better than the introduction of a ghost into a sleeping-car.

Certain lovers of letters are alarmed at the advance of science and seem to fear that, unless extraordinary precautions are taken, the imagination will expire like the Ptolemaic system of astronomy. Mr. Matthew Arnold takes up the cause of literature with some warmth in a recent number of an English magazine, and it is certainly an interesting sign of the times that we find belles-lettres on the defensive. It is a very ingenious defense that Mr. Arnold makes. His ridicule is effective, as ridicule generally is when used against new notions, and it is easy to imagine the smile that must have lit up the faces of his audience—for the article consists of a lecture—when, more than once, he mentioned the "hairy quadruped furnished with a tail and pointed ears, probably arboreal in his habits."

Still, it is possible to conceive of a time when the division between literature and science shall be less sharply drawn than it is at present. Now they are looked upon as two hostile camps, and skirmishing is warm at the outposts. Yet there may be peace in the future when the man of letters shall cease to amuse himself and others with picturing the man of science as an arrogant person whose sole occupation is pouring some unsavory decoction from one glass tube into another, and when the scientific man shall no more imagine the man of letters to be a somewhat contemptuous person who prefers alliterations to more solid good. After all, what surprises people who have ceased to quarrel is the extent to which they agree, and when we consider that every one of us is the product of both scientific and literary training, we are conscious of no vast dissensions within ourselves. Possibly society may tolerate both literature and science.

The point now discussed is the prominence to be given to science in education, and Mr. Arnold derides those who maintain that the students who choose literature and history, do less well than those who study science. He illustrates the folly of his opponents by mentioning a member of Parliament who wrote a book about this country, which contained a good deal of valu-

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able information about geology, and closed with the suggestion that we import an English prince and establish a constitutional monarchy. "Surely, in this case, the president of the section for Mechanical Science would himself hardly say that our member of Parliament, by concentrating himself upon geology and mining and so on, and not attending to literature and history, had 'chosen the more useful alternative.'" The question can hardly be regarded as settled by this error of a scientific observer. Students of literature and history have been known to make quite as gross mistakes as this one of the unliterary member of Parliament. It is scarcely ingenuous to father on science blunders that are as old as history, and which might easily be met by the *tu quoque* argument. How exact is Mr. Arnold's article on America?

When the classical system of education was established, about four hundred years ago, it covered the whole field of the learning of the time. It survives now, when nearly every other institution of that time has yielded to the growth of the modern spirit. Ecclesiasticism has bowed to the change; government has thrown half of its power to the governed; the faint glimmerings of science in those days are lost from sight in the splendor of what the world now knows by that name; and yet herds of schoolboys are filled with a distaste for letters because the languages of Greece and Rome are still employed as counters for the acquisition of prizes.

There are two things which tend to correct the narrowness of an exclusively classical education. One is the fact that worldly success requires a wider preparation than was demanded four centuries ago. Society, in this country at least, is learning to look upon devotion to the classics as a luxury, not as a necessity, and the colleges are meeting this new opposition, enlarging their curriculum. The classics are no longer the key to all knowledge, and it is idle of us to pretend that we think that they are. Secondly, and apart from this material reason, the recent growth of science which, through a thousand channels, is modifying the thought of society on every subject, demands a place in modern education. Certainly, colleges should be the leaders of thought if they wish to retain the influence they once had. It is not to be desired that students who have received what, by common consent, is called the best education of their time, should not be equipped for the position they are expected to take in the world. We do not wish our colleges to be vats of an-

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tiquated opinion, in which students shall soak for four years and come out to find themselves compelled to unlearn faulty methods, to avoid being defenders of an obsolete past.

To say nothing of what the theory of evolution has done for the natural sciences, it has made over the history of human actions and of every form of human thought. It has shown us in what way literature, for example, grows in accordance with perceptible laws; it enables us to get a better vision of antiquity; it is, in short, like every great step in thought, a simplification of knowledge, and, like every great step in thought, it is met by sniffs and sneers.

The raw fact that a burning wax candle is converted into carbonic acid and water is but a scrap of education, or rather of information; but the comprehension of the processes of evolution, be it in language, history, or butterflies, gives one a key which he can apply with advantage to any accumulation of learning. After all, the great aim of teaching is not what to think, but how to think, and if this is best learned in a laboratory let us send boys into the laboratory.

That science will expel literature is no more likely than that geometrical diagrams will take the place of pictures. Art and literature may languish, but they will be most certain to do this when they turn their back on the great interests of society. Science must influence them, but it will be by purging them of the melodramatic element, which can certainly be well spared. There is no danger that we shall lose our admiration of masterpieces. We are no less moved by the apparition of Hamlet's father because we know that ghosts do not appear. All that I mean is this—that such work of ours as is done in the way we ourselves think natural and right, is more likely to live than such as we do because some one else has approved of it. Despair over the probable ruin of art and letters because science is powerful, is a superfluous abandonment of hope when we look upon the magnificence of modern literature that grew up an imitation of the Roman imitation of Greek writers.

If science gives us the truth about anything, there is more hope for letters than if these concern themselves only with musty conventionalities. Science enlarges the sphere of our observation and renders this more exact. In this way it feeds and does not blight the imagination.

THOMAS SERGEANT PERRY.

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SANITARY DRAINAGE.

SANITARY drainage, as we know it in America, has been a peculiarly progressive art. Forty years ago, towns were sewered to get rid of their surface and subsoil waters,—mainly to prevent the flooding or dampness of cellars, and the obstruction of traffic by the accumulations of storm-water. Agricultural lands were drained for agricultural improvement. Houses were drained for convenience. "Sanitary," so far as common speech was concerned, was a word uncoined. Edwin Chadwick, then a middle-aged enthusiast, had barely inaugurated the movement which the world was so slow to take up, which has owed so much of its progress to his sturdy and sustained impulse, and of which, as a hale octogenarian, he is still one of the most lucid, most enterprising, and most effective promoters.

Though till then carried on with little reference to the health of the person or of the people, the drainage of houses and grounds and towns had become a somewhat systematic art. The storm-sewers of the first half of the century constituted the basis of the sanitary drainage which was to follow. The covered creeks and the subterranean waterways of London and other cities, constructed with a widely different purpose, were used for the discharge of a gradually increasing proportion of the offscourings of the population. Following Chadwick's suggestion, the subject of separating this foul flow from the storm-water drainage, after much discussion, obtained a certain amount of practical development. It had elicited much instructive discussion, and not a little acrimonious debate, at the time when the improvement of town sewerage began to receive intelligent attention in America. The first important contribution to this branch of our municipal literature was made by Mr. Chesbrough, who, in 1858, reported to the local authorities of Chicago the results of a careful and critical study of European drainage systems, offering at the same time

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a sewerage project for the apparently impracticable swamp area which had been chosen for the site of that city,— a scheme which, for the time when it was projected and the conditions by which it was limited, was a more than notable example of successful and intelligent engineering skill. The same talent applied now to the same conditions, in the light of what has since been learned, would produce a different and better plan, but hardly one so much in advance of the examples in which it originated.

The sewerage of Chicago and Mr. Chesbrough's later work at New Haven and elsewhere, have had a controlling influence on the sewerage systems of the country. Among the best examples of similar work executed by other engineers, may be cited the sewerage of Providence, of Brooklyn, and of the upper part of New York. But, after all, a review of the drainage works of all the cities of the country shows, on the whole, how limited has been the influence of any sanitary suggestion. The drainage systems of our newer towns is generally bad, and those of the older ones is even worse. Taken as a whole, the old peninsula of Boston is a quite complete museum of almost every conceivable mistake and defect in public sewerage. It has some good sewers, but an unusual proportion of very bad ones, as is shown by an illustrated report on the subject made by Eliot C. Clarke, Esq., to the Massachusetts State Board of Health. Philadelphia offers in its older and its best peopled portions much less variety of defect, but an almost universal dissemination of defects of very serious character.

Boston, Buffalo, and a few other large towns are now executing or considering the construction of great intercepting trunk-sewers to keep their foul outflow out of adjacent waters. It would have been more logical if the authorities of those cities had first secured the reconstruction of their interior sewerage systems, and so remedied faults which have a more immediate effect on the health of the people. Certainly, a logical sequence of their present efforts must be an extension to the interior of the town of the principle of purification now being applied to the water front. The influence of the example of England, where the greatest attention has been given to water-carried sewerage, has been most important. The practice of separating storm-water from foul drainage, advocated there some forty years ago, and from that time to this largely adopted, was so obviously a move in the right direction, where circumstances

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favor such a system, that it has at last had marked effect in this country, where, indeed, it has received important modification and amendment. Many smaller towns, for which sewerage was recently not thought necessary, are now discussing the propriety of introducing complete works, or are actually carrying them out, advantage being taken in many cases of the greater economy and cleanliness of the separate system. Indeed, this system is being considered for portions of our larger towns in some cases, in others for whole towns. Baltimore, for example, where the existing sewerage works are confined to some dozen miles of storm-water conduits laid in the low-lying parts of the town where surface water used to accumulate, is now actively considering a project submitted by its engineer, Mr. Charles H. Latrobe, for the complete sewerage of the whole city,— over one hundred miles,—on the system of the entire separation of storm-water, as carried out in Memphis. New Orleans has adopted the same system, to be executed when, if ever, it shall be able to procure funds for the purpose.

Ordinary brick sewers, as built from immemorial time, are practically very far from being impervious to water. The original purpose of their construction has usually been to carry away storm-water flowing on the surface of streets and of private property; but one of their most beneficial offices has been found to be the incidental removal of the surplus moisture of the soil,— an effect the influence of which upon public health has always been great. So obvious, indeed, has been the advantage of such soil drainage that, where tightly jointed vitrified pipes are used in heavy soils it is usual, in the best practice, to lay porous draining-tiles in the ditch, or, in practice not so good, as in recent work at Newport, to leave the lower part of the joints of the pipes uncemented, securing in this way, when the ground is saturated, an efficient subsoil drainage. Unfortunately, this method secures also the unintended result of allowing foul sewage to spread itself throughout the soil during dry seasons, poisoning the ground and robbing the heavier part of the sewage of its requisite means of transportation, stranding it as a deposit in the pipes.

The influence of subsoil drainage on the general health of the people, and especially in removing or mitigating fever and ague in malarious regions, has been quite as marked in the case of drainage works carried out in country districts for purely

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agricultural reasons. The result of such drainage in England, in districts which were formerly extremely malarious, has been most important and lasting, and it is now the accepted belief on all sides that the sovereign remedy for fever and ague is the complete drainage of all moist land in the neighborhood.

The history of house drainage during the past fifty years is the history of a most rapid and satisfactory progress, from the mere introduction of convenient channels for the removal of what would otherwise have to be carried out of the house by hand, to a process whose intimate relation to the health of the people is universally recognized. It has more recently exhibited a steady growth from the "modern conveniences" scattered throughout the house by the profuse hand of the plumber, with no regard to the effect on the atmosphere of the dwelling, to the "sanitary drainage" which is now so jealously guarded by intelligent Boards of Health, and in which convenience is made secondary to conditions of cleanliness and purity. It is safe to say that we have now the prospect of securing, at an early day, a constant regard for healthful conditions in the introduction into the houses of rich and poor of those appliances for convenient and more civilized living which the whole people is so fast coming to demand.

A review of this progress discloses a remarkable change in public sentiment. Twenty years ago the number of persons who paid the least attention to the sanitary accompaniments of modern living was altogether insignificant. Later, the influence of the pens and tongues of a few enthusiasts, and of far fewer philosophers, began to be felt, and that element of society which formerly expended its enthusiasm on phrenology and kindred "sciences" began to take up sanitary science as a more promising field for the exercise of its energies. This led to the condition which now prevails, when drainage is elevated to a position of undue prominence; when, with few exceptions, all the ills that flesh is heir to are ascribed to wet ground, foul soil, defective drains, and that great bugaboo of them all, "sewer-gas"; when defective ventilation, stove heat, furnace heat, bad food, and worse drink are allowed their little-disturbed sway, the majority of their victims being charged to the account of bad drainage. The capital of the nation is notoriously the place where "malaria" plays its wildest pranks and finds its most distinguished subjects. Its site has defects,

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and its saturated soil is undoubtedly most objectionable. But in all the outcry against the malaria of Washington we hear little of the whisky, and the late hours, and the dissolute life to which, probably, a more just estimate would ascribe the greatest proportion of its morbidity and of its mortality.

These remarks are by no means intended to belittle the office of proper systems of drainage in improving the public health, but rather as a precaution against that general disappointment which must follow the demonstration of the patent fact that perfect drainage is not the only requirement of perfect living. With this limitation, too much importance can hardly be attached to the subject; nor can too much earnestness be employed in urging forward every movement which looks to the removal of filth and of undue soil-moisture.

It cannot be pretended that the conditions of sanitary perfection are known; but we may safely claim that the intelligent investigations of the past few years have led to a very important increase of our positive information on the subject. There is no doubt that some of the well-accepted theories of the present day are destined to be set aside by future investigation; but, on the whole, they constitute a very good and reliable foundation for systematic work. They contain a sufficient element of certainty to justify local Boards of Health in establishing rules and regulations, the enforcement of which, whatever their imperfections,—and it is to be remembered that such rules have to be prepared for universal application, not alone for those who desire and are willing to pay for the best work,—cannot fail to bring about a marked improvement in the condition of life of all classes of the people.

The assumed basis for the best present practice,—most of which will probably stand the test of time,—may be fairly stated as follows:

All ordinary domestic waste matters, whether offensive or inoffensive, when first produced, become to about the same degree offensive when putrefied. They also become to about the same degree dangerous, save that some may carry specific germs of disease, which are absent from others. All such matters should, therefore, be removed entirely beyond the house and beyond the limits of population before their putrefaction sets in. The objections attaching to the decomposition of these substances attach in like manner, but in less degree, to such of

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their elements as adhere to the walls of the channels through which they are removed; *i. e.*, it is important not only to consider the removal of the great bulk of our filth, but also to guard against evils arising from the decomposition of the adhering particles which mark the course it has followed.

The removal of waste matters by transportation in water has such preponderating advantages over all other systems of treatment,—including the earth closet,— that it is not worth while, for general practice, seriously to consider any other than the water-carriage system. The removal of solid matters in a stream of water requires a sufficient depth in the flow to carry the solids along, and a sufficient velocity to prevent sedimentation. As these elements—depth and velocity—must always work together, the size of the channel through which the stream runs is most important. An amount of water that would fill a large pipe half an inch deep, would fill a sufficiently smaller pipe an inch deep. Ordinary fœcal solids are readily transported in water an inch deep, while in water of only half that depth their buoyancy would be too much reduced, and the amount of their surface receiving the impulse of the flow would be too small for their prompt transportation; so that, unless the velocity were so great as to break down the mass, they would remain in the channel. Some of the substances reaching our drains are of too firm a consistence to be broken down by the velocity of ordinary streams, and these often form the nucleus about which fouler things gather to create accumulations. Therefore, it is important, with regard to all drains which do not run full, that their diameter be so restricted as to give the required depth to their flow. There is another consideration of equal importance which must always be kept in view: the velocity of the stream remaining the same, the depth of the flow will be in proportion to the diameter of the pipe and to the quantity flowing through it. Therefore, as the quantity supplied in ordinary house drainage is fixed, the diameter of the pipe must be so restricted that, at the velocity with which it flows,—varying according to the rate of inclination,—the given fixed volume will secure the required depth. It is not, of course, possible to maintain at all times a cleansing depth of flow in any house drain; but it is possible, by regulating the diameter of the conduit in accordance with the volume flowing at the time of greatest use, and with the rate of inclination, to make sure that at some time during the day, and

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generally several times during the day, there shall be a sufficient depth of current to wash away what the straggling flow may have left behind.

In those parts of the house drainage where the conduit is filled with water, it is necessary to give, at least at frequent intervals, a sufficiently rapid movement to the whole mass to carry away whatever may have been deposited in these filled portions by slighter discharges. Practically, this observation applies mainly to the case of traps, where a bend is introduced in the course of the pipe to hold water, as a "seal" to separate the air of the outer drain from the air of such pipes as are open to the interior of the house. In this case, velocity has to be given not only to water occupying a portion of the pipe, but to its full contents, so that the diameters of traps should be, other things being equal, considerably less than the diameters of the pipes leading to them and from them.

One of the most serious difficulties met with in practical work is what is known as "siphonage," that is, the sucking out of the water of traps by the rarefaction of the air in the outer pipe, caused by the passage of liquids or air through it or across its mouth. The tendency to siphonage is greater in small traps than in large ones, the same suction being brought to bear on a smaller volume (weight) of trapping water. No satisfactory device of general application has yet been discovered by which this difficulty may be overcome with certainty and without entailing other effects equally to be feared. The present custom exacted or sanctioned by local Boards of Health is to carry a vent pipe from the upper bend of the trap to the open air, so that when the air of a pipe becomes rarefied, the balance shall be restored by admitting air through the vent pipe, leaving the water of the trap undisturbed. Theoretically, this practice has much to commend it; practically, it seems to me to have grave objections, which it will require our best endeavor to remove. Our best hope lies in the devising of some other means for securing a safe trap.

However completely we may succeed in preventing deposits in waste-pipes and drains, we cannot prevent the adhesion to their walls of more or less of the soapy, greasy, and slimy matters carried by their flow. With a perfect adjustment of diameters, and with the proper appliances for frequent flushing, such adhesions may be reduced to a minimum. However small the

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quantity so adhering, it is sure to enter into decomposition, and it is well known, or, rather, it is generally believed, that the extent to which such decomposition becomes noxious or innoxious is regulated only by the degree to which fresh air is admitted to it at all times. All waste-pipes and drains must have such a connection with the outer atmosphere as shall insure a supply of oxygen for complete decomposition at all points, and a reasonably rapid dilution and removal of the gaseous products of the process.

Concerning fixtures within the house, it is to be remembered that each additional one constitutes another channel of communication between the air of the house and that of the drain. The possibility of efficient protection at these openings is, at least, so well secured, that we need not hesitate to establish such fixtures as are required for comfort and for reasonable convenience; but there remains just so much question in the matter as to justify the recommendation that a luxurious profusion of plumbing fixtures had better be avoided.

The two vital points still to be settled are: First, an absolutely effective means for maintaining the integrity of traps; and, second, such an arrangement of vessels, traps, and waste-pipes as will insure the complete discharge beyond the house walls of all matters delivered into the waste-pipes without the possibility of their being long retained in traps or elsewhere on their way. Thus far we are at sea as to the first of these requirements. Some endeavor to satisfy it by trap ventilation, and others by the use of mechanical traps, both of which methods, as now carried out, have demonstrable defects. The uncertainty here involved constitutes to-day the chief unsolved problem in the work of house drainage. It is here more than anywhere else that the most skillful and experienced judgment is required in the arrangement of plumbing work.

The water-closet has undergone a transformation since improved drainage began to attract attention in this country, which has brought it within measurable distance of practical perfection. The universal condemnation of the pan-closet by every respectable authority, if we except the Boards of Health of the larger cities,—and there are good reasons for their present inaction,—is secured. Just apprehension as to its dangers is widely disseminated and deeply implanted. Its introduction in new work must soon be prohibited, and its retention

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in old work cannot last very long. The defects which are most marked in this apparatus exist in a modified degree in some other closets which still meet with favor; but the march of improvement is entirely in the direction of closets which have no moving parts, which require a very copious use of water without waste, and of which the outlet channels are free from enlargements, or recesses not subject in every part to a thorough cleansing every time they are used. The simplest of these, and in many respects one of the best, is the plain "hopper" with a bent trap below it supplied with such a volume of flushing water as to ensure complete washing. Another common fault recognized and appreciated by all authorities is the supplying of closets by valves directly connected with the house supply. The importance of the interposition of a flushing cistern is getting to be well and generally understood. On the whole, we may say that, so far as water-closets are concerned, the interests of the public are taking care of themselves in a most satisfactory manner. Economy and indifference will necessarily retain in use the great mass of improper apparatus until it shall have worn itself out; but new construction and renewal of old work will in time overcome existing difficulties.

The majority of even the best houses are now very badly drained, and are subject to the production of "sewer-gas" at many points between the outer wall of the house and the fixtures within it. Occupants are generally careless or ignorant of this fact, and the verdict of "my plumber" is still considered by the average house-owner a sufficient certificate of good sanitary condition. Large traps, clogged with accumulations of putrefying kitchen-waste, soapy compounds, fœcal matter, etc., are still the rule rather than the exception. Defective pipes and more defective joints, involving often the escape of drainage drippings, or of drainage exhalations, exist very widely. Most drains still run under the cellar-floor, and such drains are almost invariably very faulty. All of these things, however, are slowly being changed, and the change is, practically, always in the right direction. In some cases where the local sewerage is very bad there is doubtless a certain amount of contamination of houses by the gases resulting from decomposition in the sewer. Few modern sewers, however, are seriously open to this charge, and proper ventilation of soil-pipes is, when accompanied with good plumbing work, a sufficient protection against danger from this

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cause, when the cause exists. The important lesson to be taught is that most of our sewer-gas is home-made. Bacterial growth in sewers is a newly-mooted subject, of which the mooting is thus far the only real progress; but this is real progress.

In the sewerage of towns all will admit that great advances have been made within the period under consideration. The better works referred to on a previous page may be regarded as the models on which construction is generally planned. In execution the best plan often fails of proper carrying out, because of the not yet entirely obsolete ignorance and stupidity of the newly-elected sewerage committees of local governments, and because of the almost universal misconception of the meaning of the word "economy," coupled with a notion that public works are always most cheaply and most honestly executed when let by contract to the lowest bidder. The only economy in works of this character, especially as they are forever hidden from view, is to be sought in absolutely faithful and excellent construction with the best attainable material. The extra cost of building sewers in the best manner is not worth a moment's consideration as compared with the wastefulness and grave sanitary danger which usually attend lowest-bidder construction.

I am a firm believer in the superiority, under most circumstances, of the separate removal of house-drainage through small vitrified pipes; but I believe that large brick sewers properly arranged and constructed are — bacterial growth apart — better and safer, as they are also vastly more costly, than pipe sewers, as these are usually laid. It is true that brick-sewers leak and frequently contaminate the soil; but the ooze from their walls is of much less consequence than the direct delivery of a stream of sewage at every joint with improperly laid pipes. I believe, of course, that the system that I have carried out at Memphis and elsewhere, of using very small, tightly-jointed pipes, thoroughly washed out once or twice a day by automatic flush-tanks connected with the water supply, is as much better than other systems as it is cheaper; but I believe, nevertheless, that perfect workmanship is better, from a sanitary point of view, than a perfect plan. The demonstration of the truth of these convictions afforded by good examples of work executed in this country during the past ten years, cannot fail to have its influence on future sewer construction, and we may regard our future in this respect as well assured.

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The importance of the removal of the water of saturation from the soil in and about the house, and generally in malarious districts, is becoming better and better understood, and malaria must ere long become practically obsolete in the older settled portions of the United States, as it already has in its old haunts in England.

In studying the difficult questions involved in the ultimate disposal of sewage, the public has yet to appreciate the importance of immediate removal. Of course even the freshest and most recent sewage ought not to be delivered where it can contaminate adjacent streams or bodies of water; but real contamination is very greatly in proportion to the degree to which sewage has been permitted to decompose on the way from the fixtures in the house to the outlet of the main sewer. As in the house, so in the town, complete removal before decomposition should always be the rule. When water-carried waste matters are delivered in this fresh condition, a very large proportion of their organic constituents is consumed by fishes, and the lower order of life and the decomposition of such matters as float in the well aerated upper portion of the water is complete and rapid; but the rule must, in time, prevail, that no sewage shall be delivered into stagnant waters, along shores, into harbors, or into streams, which carry it past other communities which would suffer from its ultimate decay.

GEORGE E. WARING, JR.

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CRUELTY TO CHILDREN.

OUR last national Census, in 1880, showed that the number of children in the United States under sixteen years of age was over twenty millions; of whom 10,158,954 were boys, and 9,884,705 were girls. From a political standpoint, the future status of the nation will largely depend on the proper physical and intellectual training of these children, yearly increasing in number, who before long will constitute the sovereign people of the Republic. In a social and moral point of view, the well-being of society imperatively demands that the atmosphere in which they live and the treatment which they receive from those having their custody or intrusted with their care, shall be such as to insure habits of industry, temperance, honesty, and chastity. Cruelty to children produces mental and physical disease, and the prevention of such cruelty is a matter, therefore, of grave public importance.

Cruelty has been legally defined to embrace "every act, omission or neglect whereby physical pain, suffering or death is caused, or permitted;" and it is divisible into those cases which the law reaches, and those which it does not reach. Thus, for instance, among the intelligent and educated, brutality to a child is viewed with horror, and corporal punishment is something almost unknown. The pride of the parent in the offspring frequently amounts almost to idolatry. Many such parents treat their children as though they were rare exotic plants; and while the children are carefully guarded against temptations common to their age, and are clothed, fed, and educated with the utmost care, their nurture in other respects is not always wisely directed. A child of delicate, nervous constitution, with a developement of intellect beyond its years, is too often forced by over-education into a premature growth of its mental faculties to the injury of its bodily health. The

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strain is not apparent at first, but as the child grows older it becomes more susceptible to the inroads of disease, and too often the very care taken to develop the intellect strikes a fatal blow at the corresponding development of the body. Again, children delicately nurtured and of a nervous temperament are unusually impressible under the behavior of their parents. Where, for instance, the harsh word checks the child's love, exhibited perhaps at an inopportune moment, an impression is made on the memory and character of the child which is not easily effaced. The idea never seems to occur to many persons that the life of childhood is a life of itself. Children live in a world of their own. They have their fancies, their peculiar likes and dislikes, their day-dreams, their fears and their hopes. Day by day, as this child-life goes on, the character is being formed and molded. Their physical condition has everything to do with their conduct, and too often what is attributed by the parent to perversity or temper, is but the precursor or symptom of physical disease. The maladies of childhood are usually ushered in by an unaccountable waywardness of temper; and a child is frequently punished for a physical irritation over which it has no control, the cause of which subsequently becomes apparent. So, too, any neglect by parents of their children's interests is keenly felt by the children themselves. The weakening of parental authority at the present day, so often complained of, will be found in many cases due to the fact that the old adage that "children should be seen and not heard," is the governing maxim, instead of that constant attention to the education, the wants and the wishes of the child, which renders the tie between it and its parents stronger than adamant, and lasting through life. The stinging reproof, too often uttered in momentary anger by the parent, and frequently undeserved because inquiry was not properly made into the facts before it was administered, and the biting, cutting sarcasm, intended to convey disapproval of conduct, will, with a child of tender susceptibilities, injure its moral and affectional nature far more than the blow which constitutes actual brutality. These are cases of cruelty which the law does not reach. Yet it wisely entrusts to the parent the care of the child in its earlier years, because in the great majority of cases the parental instincts and the natural bond of affection are the very best safe-guards for its welfare.

A very different phase of cruelty exists in the case of many

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of the children of the laboring classes. Occupied the entire day in his ordinary avocation, and in providing for the needs of his family, the hard-working laboring man has but little time to bestow upon his offspring. They are usually left to their mother, who, perhaps, is called upon by the demands of an increasing family to labor herself for their sustenance. Too often they are allowed to roam at large, and to select their own associates; and experience has shown that the votaries of vice are always on the alert to lure innocent and unsuspecting children into vice and crime, before even their parents are conscious of their danger. Sad cases of this character appear in the records of our societies for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children and of our criminal courts. Girls ceasing to be children and becoming women fall into vice before they really know what vice is. Boys with originally good instincts are beguiled, through the allurements of dime novels and of blood-and-thunder dramas at cheap theaters, into the company of thieves and vagabonds; and the petty theft which soon consigns them to a reformatory institution, while it may perhaps be the occasion of checking a vicious career, stamps a brand of crime upon the character, destined in future to produce deplorable results. One of the worst evils to which children of the laboring classes are subjected is their employment at a very early age in occupations detrimental to their health, and positively injurious to their vitality and moral growth. The temptation to parents to utilize their children for the purpose of enlarging their scanty means of subsistence, regardless of the injury to the morals, the intellect, or the physical health of the child, is so strong that the latter considerations rarely enter into their thoughts. The evil in this respect is a growing one, and if allowed to continue will endanger the welfare of the community by impoverishing the material out of which the American mechanic — so justly relied on as the main-spring of the nation's wealth — is made. Factories are crowded with children of very tender years who are compelled to work at starvation wages, frequently over ten hours a day, in close, confined rooms, until at last the physical system falls into premature decay, and consumption, with its attendant and kindred diseases, ensues. According to the census of 1870, the whole number of children of both sexes between the ages of ten and fifteen years pursuing "gainful" occupations was 739,164.

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The last census of 1880 enlarges this number to 1,118,356—an increase of 379,192 in ten years.

Too many of our law-makers, perhaps with the best intentions, but certainly as if the strain upon the physical system were not enough, make the only condition precedent to the employment of children in factories the onerous one of requiring proof that they shall have first received a common-school education, which simply means that the intellectual strength of the child is to be taxed as well as its physical powers. How soon the adult mechanics will interfere by their representatives in the Legislatures, to prevent the employment of children in this manner, which practically results in the exclusion of adult labor from the manufacture of articles made by these factories, remains to be seen. Thousands of children yearly die from diseases contracted in these unhealthy employments. Our nation, in this respect, is far behind Europe in the protection of these helpless children. In France, as long ago as 1841, stringent laws were passed to remedy the evil. England was not slow to follow the example, and upon the English law the present French legislation is based, which absolutely precludes the employment of children in the production of dangerous and poisonous toys, drugs, explosive materials, and other articles, the manufacture of which cannot be conducted except at the peril of the life or limb of the child. You have only to go through the large hospitals in any city of this country to find a number of children suffering from mutilations of hands and fingers, resulting from their employment, at a tender age, in the management of machinery which requires thought and skill to operate; and to see how the wisdom of the French law is ignored in this country. Notable efforts have already been made in many States to reach the evil, but as yet our legislation is very crude in this respect; for, while the subject has attracted the attention of the State Boards of Health, and State Medical Boards, the local factory interests have succeeded in so weakening the measures suggested for the prevention of the evil, as to render the laws, when enacted, practically inoperative.

Equally injurious to the children of the laboring classes is their utilization by their parents in theatrical and operatic shows, acrobatic feats, and other occupations remunerative in their character, apparently harmless, and yet more deadly in their

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results upon the moral and physical health of the child than any of the evils already enumerated. To the hard-working man it seems comparatively an easy thing that his little girl should sing in juvenile opera, or perform night after night upon the stage in some minor part, with apparently little effort, before an applauding audience. Indeed, many are rather proud of the prominence which they absurdly suppose is thereby given to their family, and it pleases their vanity to see their children billed as youthful prodigies and "phenomena." The admiring audience in front of the stage applaud with delight the precocious talent of the child. The press, which is largely dependent on the advertisements of theatrical agents, often criticises with severity any attempt to deprive the public of what is termed its legitimate amusement by suppressing these exhibitions. And the plea is made even by those who honestly uphold the dramatic profession, that such exhibitions are necessary for the development of true dramatic talent, and that, where the indigent circumstances of the parents apparently require it, charity ought to encourage the children in such a method of earning their livelihood. But look at the other side of the question: the very moment the curtain rises at a theater, a draft of hot air blows from the audience on the stage, frequently paralyzing temporarily the vocal chords of the actors. When the curtain falls, the cold air from the flies descends with equal rapidity, and the children, who a moment before were exposed half-naked in the performance of some act of physical exertion, are chilled to the bone before they have a chance to recover from the sudden change resulting from this alteration of the temperature. Night after night they are subjected to these changes. During the day they sleep as best they can. Their nervous systems soon become disorganized, digestion is rapidly impaired; late work necessitates late suppers, and the associations into which they are brought very soon lead to loss of modesty on the part of the girls, and early dissipation on the part of the boys. The careful student of this phase of cruelty has only to look at the results. The career of these children can be traced with painful accuracy from the time when they first perform in some juvenile operatic troupe, to their graduation in the song and dance business at a theater of lower grade than that where they originally appeared, and finally, when broken in health and enervated by dissipation and disease, to their appearance at the very lowest class

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of dives and in dime museums. Hardly a case can be cited where children thus prematurely utilized for the purposes of the stage have ever risen to a high position in the histrionic art. There are some, it is true, who shine as stars in the dramatic profession, who began their stage career early in life, but these are rare exceptions.

Now, these cases of cruelty the law only partially reaches. In some instances the statute explicitly forbids the exhibition. In others it is difficult to prove specific, actual physical injury to the child, because the process of enervation is slow and the development of the seeds of disease too often insidious. Yet only recently one of the most gifted children on the stage, who played month after month as the adjunct of a well-known variety actor, died suddenly at the close of the performance, as was well stated by one of the papers which chronicled her death in a touching elegy, "in an atmosphere uncongenial to her growth." The public needs education on this subject. So long as persons of culture and refinement can derive pleasure from the performances of children, without reflecting on the injury which those performances occasion the child, there is but little hope of public sentiment being enlisted against these practices. The glare of the foot-lights constitutes a dividing line between the false view entertained by the audience and the painful results concentrated in the person of the child, and sure to ensue. Yet reflecting people would hesitate to place their own children in a position where, night after night, such a constant strain would be put upon them, and the golden rule seems to be entirely forgotten.

Let us look at this a moment. The law charges the parent with the care of the child during its minority. It does not authorize the utilization of the child at the expense of its health, merely for the purpose of putting money in the pockets of the parent. There the root of the evil lies. There the temptation is the most difficult to be resisted, and there is precisely where it is most difficult to protect the child, because of the difficulty in making the uneducated parent see that the performances are ruinous to the child. Just here the press should step in and protect the children. Unfortunately, theatrical influences to-day are too potent with the press. Too often the press sides with the audience and encourages the child, who is represented as being fond of the life it leads—as if children of tender years were competent to judge for themselves in the mat-

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ter. What child does not cry for what it wants, no matter how hurtful the result may be? And who relies on the judgment of a child as of any value, even where its own interests are concerned?

Lastly, the cases of actual brutality are deserving of notice. There are those who gratify their animal instincts and passions, without regard to the consequences entailed thereby upon their offspring. Intemperance, vice, and crime are rife; and unless the children be rescued speedily from the suffering and neglect to which the vices of their parents necessarily subject them, premature disease, mental and physical, is certain to be engendered; and the statistics of crime show that the inevitable result of such treatment is to swell the criminal classes. The child of the outcast and the criminal has no home. The blow, the curse, the drunken brawl, the threat of punishment unless crime is committed, the ignoring of decency, of education, and of religion, point to but one result. Fortunately for these unhappy children, the humane of both sexes and of all classes are not lax in their efforts to reform and rescue them from their lives of sin, misery, and helplessness. The very women of society who are often reproached with being alike heartless and frivolous, respond in the most liberal manner, and devote more of their time than is dreamed of in aid of the wretched children of the poor. No appeal to a woman's heart for aid to rescue a child who is cruelly treated has yet met with a repulse. The inherent maternal instinct predominates over every other sentiment or passion; and the array of institutions in this country supported by both men and women for the rescue of the helpless, the outcast, and the lost attests the fondness of the American people for the children of the community; for in no other country are laws in such cases more stringent or more thoroughly enforced, although much legislation on the subject is yet needed. A wise experience has shown the necessity of creating societies for the prevention of cruelty to children, to enforce these laws. The duty of public officials in such matters, except in glaring cases, too often is neglected. But the records of these societies show that the humane and the intelligent, in every city and State where the organizations exist, are unswerving in their efforts to secure to little children that consideration by the community which their future so imperatively demands. Until some better mode of reaching the evil is pointed out, the work of these child-saving

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societies deserves the support of every humane person. They are the dread of all who practice cruelty to children; they incur the resentment of those who are unable to control their action by political, pecuniary, or personal influences; but their work speaks for itself, and illustrates more strikingly than any other creation of the American people the crystallization of the humanity of the age in a most concise, compact, and efficacious form.

ELBRIDGE T. GERRY.

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CHURCH ATTENDANCE.

A NON-CHURCH-GOER.

It is a generally admitted fact that in these days only a small proportion, even of intelligent and eminently respectable people, are regular attendants upon religious services on Sunday. It is believed, and frequently deplored, that the proportion is diminishing year by year. The increasing aversion of people who cannot be called bad or depraved to church attendance is generally ascribed to the spread of unbelief; but this does not wholly account for it.

The world has, indeed, been moving very rapidly during the last generation, and theology, which used to be in the van of human thought, and in some measure to lead in human progress, has fallen to the rear, and is in imminent danger of being left altogether. The results of scientific and philosophic inquiry have widely diffused an intelligent common sense, which will not accept teachings that were once potent over the human mind. People do not like to be fed on the dry leaves of an antiquated theology in which the sap of life has ceased to flow. Dogmas which used to keep the superstitious mind in subjection, and rule the lives of men through their hopes and fears, have lost their power, because enlightened thought declares that there can be no such terrific chances in another life as the world used to believe.

It is useless to fight against the tendencies of the age, or to deplore them as evil, for they are in the line of human progress. Men are better and not worse than in the olden time, and yet they believe less in the supernatural and the unprovable. The majority of intelligent and well-meaning people, whose purposes are good, whose aspirations are high, whose conduct is upright, do not and cannot believe what the churches teach, and they are weary of its reiteration. In fact, the keener their apprehension,

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the clearer their mental vision, the stronger their powers of thought and the broader their intellectual culture, the less willing or able are they to stoop to the yoke of belief which the church imposes. It is not the daring atheist or the reckless evil-doer that is now chiefly found in the ranks of non-attendants at church, but the sober citizen and the father of a family, who is loyal to his convictions and faithful to his duty.

Why does he not go? Why should he go? It is for the church to attract, and it repels. It proscribes thought and free inquiry. It cramps the brains of its ministers until it is only the intellectual light-weights that seek its service. The mediocrities of the seminaries go to the pulpit. They offer nothing for the mental or moral digestion and nutrition of healthy men. They minister chiefly to the superstitious, the narrow and the morbid, and the masculine sex is disappearing from among their followers.

There is no doubt that people are repelled from the pews because the pulpit is behind the age. The notion can no longer be kept up that "unbelievers" are bad. It has to be admitted that they are, as a rule, intelligent, earnest, and altogether honest. They still cherish the hope, at least, of a future life, and they certainly have no "enmity toward God." They want to lead decent and well-ordered lives, and bring their children up with good principles and high ideals. They recognize the needs of their higher nature, and have no objection to its being called a spiritual nature. They recognize the value of appeals to the purer feelings and the loftier sentiments. They know that through the eye and ear the soul may be reached and benefited. They would be glad on their weekly day of rest to subject themselves to elevating influences, and bring their families within them. Having this want, and recognizing this need, they still keep away from the "sanctuary," partly because it so inadequately provides for them. They do not find there satisfaction for the soul, and modern society, dominated by an antiquated ecclesiasticism, is failing to provide for the spiritual wants of man. It is therefore failing to arrest the working of those forces in human nature that tend to moral degeneracy. Science is to-day doing more for morals than the Church.

But, as was stated at the outset, unbelief is but one cause of non-attendance at church. There are many who would put up with a good deal of decayed theology, and try for themselves and

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their children to obtain benefit and satisfaction from church-going for the sake of the sustenance of the better nature and the stimulus to the higher impulses, inadequate though they be, were they not actually repelled from the church-door by the demands made upon them if they enter. A common excuse for not going to church is the same as a common excuse for not getting married. Men of modest means and a fair share of pride and self-respect "cannot afford it." They would willingly pay in the form of pew-rent a reasonable compensation for such benefit as they could get; but having obtained their seat and paid for it, they find themselves subjected to constant solicitation for a hundred purposes that have no connection with their reasons for wishing to go to church. Perhaps the church which they wish to attend, through a policy which they had no part in making, and which they would never have approved, is involved in debt, and they are asked to help it out of foolish bankruptcy. They are asked to subscribe for foreign missions, though doubting the benefit to distant savages of the five dollars' worth of teaching which it costs a hundred dollars to give them. They are called upon to contribute to various charitable enterprises and entertainments,—not called upon simply, but persistently urged, when they have their own personal notions about charitable aid, in accordance with which they do in private what they can afford or feel disposed to do. They find that in what claims to be the temple of the meek and lowly Saviour, who gave his special blessing to the poor, and was himself more slenderly provided for than the foxes and the birds of the air, they cannot feel at home unless they are comparatively rich. The Church to-day is a beggar, not humble and meek in its demands, but greedy, persistent, almost impudent. Our seeker for sustenance and inspiration for his better nature finds himself in a congregation of daughters of the horse-leech, ever crying: "Give, give!" and he flees in weariness and disgust from their importunities.

And yet it is not his pocket alone that is sensitive. His self-respect and pride are hurt. He thought, perchance, that among the professed followers of the meek and lowly one, there might be a sort of equality of position, as among joint heirs to a common inheritance compared with which earthly resources are said to be insignificant. But he finds that the continual calls for contribution and for aid in the entertainments and charitable side-shows of the Church serve the purpose of gauging a man's

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worldly means, and he is relegated to his place in the social grade of the Church according to his ability to pay for it. Perhaps his means are modest, and the private demands upon them all they will bear. In that case, he is nobody in the society of the Church. He is made to feel that he and his family are measured and estimated according to the scale of worldly treasures, and he becomes discontented and unhappy. He concludes that if the modern Christian Church is the guardian of the gateway to heaven, it is easier for a whole caravan of camels to thread the postern of a needle's eye than for a poor man to make his way through the formidable barrier. He gives up his search in that direction for elevating and encouraging influences in life's trials, and, with the conclusions of science and philosophy, makes a more comfortable, if not a better, sanctuary for himself and his in his own home. Churches, at least in large cities, are for the rich, and serve rather a social than a genuine religious purpose; chapels and mission schools are for the poor, who are thereby made to feel their inferiority; but for the great class of reading, thinking, and active men of the age there is no provision made for spiritual salvation.

A NON-CHURCH-GOER.

REV. DR. WARD.

I MUST confess to a certain embarrassment in attempting to comment on the paper of "A Non-Church-Goer," from a difficulty I find in determining whether it should be treated as a serious communication or as a sort of jest. As a serious attempt to state facts I could read it only with astonishment, for from beginning to end it assumes as well-known fact what is well known to every person of intelligence upon the subject to be the reverse of fact.

The substance of the article in review is the repetition, with variations, of the assertion that "it is a generally admitted fact that in these days only a small portion, even of intelligent and eminently respectable people, are regular attendants upon religious services on Sunday." This is palpably untrue, and yet it is reiterated again and again. "The majority," says the writer, "of intelligent and well-meaning people, whose purposes are good, whose aspirations are high, whose conduct is upright, do not and cannot believe what the churches teach, and they are

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weary of its reiteration." After making this assertion, that intelligent and moral people have generally withdrawn from attendance upon our churches, the writer then proceeds to discuss reasons for his false fact.

It would have been the part of an intelligent writer to make at least superficial investigation to discover whether the facts are as imagined. One whose purpose, however, is simply to stir up the lions may not care whether his stick is tipped with fact or fancy. But the fact is easy to obtain. It is patent to the eye, and a few minutes' search in the Census Reports and in the Year Books of our religious bodies would give the desired information to any one who was not desirous to remain in ignorance of it. I suppose it is the United States that is chiefly being considered in this discussion; and it is a fact easily demonstrated that the proportion of members of so-called Evangelical Protestant churches is now considerably larger than at any previous time within the century. There is in the United States a population of fifty millions of people of all ages. Of these, over ten millions, more than one in five, are communicants in Evangelical Protestant churches. Mind, I say communicants. I do not say nominal members, adherents. I do not count in the baptized children. There are actually enrolled as communicants, who are chiefly adults, by trustworthy statistical reports, by count and not by guess-work, over ten million men and women. These represent five million families which are attendants at church, and the children of which, and many of the adults, are attendants but not communicants. We are within bounds if we say that they represent thirty millions of people who recognize themselves as attendants or adherents of the churches. Here we have at once a handsome majority of our people in this Protestant division of the believing Church. But we must add to these, according to the best computations, over six millions of Catholics. "A Non-Church-Goer" may deny that either they, or the thirty million Protestants, are "intelligent and eminently respectable people"; but he cannot claim that they "do not believe what the churches teach." That would be absurd. They do believe.

We have, then, at a moderate calculation, thirty-six of the fifty millions of our population who are recognized as regular attendants on those churches whose faith, we are told, has ceased to attract men of culture and intelligence. Of these ten millions

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are active communicants of Protestant churches. And this immense number of communicants represents a rapidly increasing proportion of our population. In 1800, there were, according to the best available statistics, 365,000 Evangelical communicants in the country, being seven per cent. of the population of 5,308,483. In 1850, there were 3,529,988 such communicants, being fifteen per cent. of the population of 21,191,876. In 1870, there were 6,673,396 such communicants, being seventeen per cent. of the population of 38,588,371. In 1880, the communicants had risen to 10,065,963, being a little over twenty per cent. of the population of 50,152,866. The increase in population since 1800 has been ninefold; that in Evangelical communicants has been twenty-sevenfold, three times as great as in the population. So much for the random assertion that "only a small proportion, even of intelligent or eminently respectable people, are regular attendants upon religious services on Sunday," and "the proportion is diminishing year by year." On the contrary, the proportion is increasing so rapidly that if "A Non-Church-Goer's" life should be prolonged many decades, the greater likelihood is that he will have to hide himself away or emigrate to escape the danger of being converted.

Does our imaginative friend say that he had in mind the "intelligent and eminently respectable," and that the church-members and church-goers are of a different class? He dares say it, probably, for he gives no evidence of measuring his words; but it would be palpably untrue. It does not need proof that the classes which are eminently non-intelligent or non-respectable are, like our friend, almost to a man, non-church-goers. When a previously vicious man attaches himself to a church, it is a step toward respectability. The Church educates its members in honesty and thrift. Church-members average much more moral, intelligent, and wealthy than non-church-members. This is the natural product of their church-training. Go into almost any community and you will find the "eminently respectable" people generally church-goers, if not church-members. Every village this side of Tombstone, Arizona, is full of the proof of it. If you find anywhere a community which does not go to church, you find one where life is not safe, and where Judge Lynch does the preaching. It is the saloon and groggery population which supplies the larger part of non-church-goers.

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But do not intelligent men keep away from the church? Yes, some of them, but not many. The vast majority of really intelligent people are adherents of the church. Some are not, but they are comparatively few. There are men of French or Spanish birth who have learned to despise Romanism, and who, in throwing it off, have thrown off all faith. There are Germans by birth who have succumbed to a local tide of unbelief. There are Jews to whom Judaism seems a decayed religion, and who have accepted no other. There are physicians who have learned that brain activity and mind activity are correlate, and who conclude it is all brain and no soul. There are students of nature who see majestic, immutable laws, and are satisfied that the law of the vibrant atom and the developing molecule is God enough. There are brave and good men who have thought out, or thought along the accretions of accepted creeds, and suppose they must reject the creeds no less than the accretions. There are thousands of such, and they have their own coteries in our cities where they chiefly abound, and they are numerous in the aggregate; but they are yet a small fraction compared with the great body of our intelligent and moral people who still are attached, and in increasing ratio, to our churches.

I speak of the United States, not to avoid the mention of Darwin and Huxley and Tyndall, but because it is by this country that we must judge the truth of the assertion made. I am not afraid to speak of Germany, with its Emperor William and its Prince Bismarck, stout believers, and its scholars less unbelieving and its churches less recreant to faith than fifty years ago; of France, less atheistic than at the beginning of the century, and with a rapidly growing Protestant strength, with its successive ministries so strongly Protestant; of England, notwithstanding that majestic name of Charles Darwin, and those other honored names I have mentioned, but which can be easily matched in science with three times as many names of scholars of nature and of humane learning who cherish the Church of Christ; the England whose prime minister is "fed on the dry leaves of an antiquated theology in which the sap of life has ceased to flow," but who, somehow, is the robustest man in the British empire; the England whose Darwins and Tyndalls, even, christen their children in the old churches. I might speak of these, but I wish only to deny the strange assertion that the religion of Jesus Christ, and the churches which embody it, have ceased to keep their hold on our intelligent and moral public.

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Does "A Non-Church-Goer" wish to tally names? Who stand at the head of our departments and schools of science? Who are they in geology? Go down the list, from Dana and LeConte, and see whether they are church-goers or not. In biology, begin with Gray, the stoutest Darwinian of them all, but a devout member of an orthodox church; in astronomy, with Young and Newcomb; go through all the sciences and count their devotees, and I am not afraid to let the tally tell whether the Christian faith has been rejected. Who are the friends of education? Who scatter their money over our land to sow it with colleges? It is Christian men, almost exclusively Christian men, who do it in the interest of the Christianity which they love. Who have sent teachers to our freedmen and our Indians, and are giving them common schools and universities to pay the debt we owe them and to make them intelligent citizens? Who else is it that loves intelligence and morality enough to do this but Christian believers? When a body of people who have repudiated the Church do the same, we are surprised, and fill the air with plaudits. Mr. Adler's Society for Ethical Culture, with all its strength of wealthy Hebrew and Gentile unbelief, has established a kindengarten or two for the poor in this city, and we praise it loudly. It is well done. But Sarah B. Cooper and her San Francisco Bible-class have established five times as many — and what of it?

The Church exhausted? The sanctuaries empty? Who does not go to church? Take any village and reckon from house to house of the reputable inhabitants, and they nearly all go to church. Watch the front doors of Fifth avenue, and see what one fails to open at half-past ten Sunday morning to send its dwellers to church. The world of society, of culture, of wealth goes to church. "Where do you go to church?" is one of the first questions asked of new acquaintances, because all go to church somewhere. Ours is a church-going people, a church-respecting, a church-honoring people, and never more so than now.

Here I might stop. If the assumption is wrong, the explanations given are not worth considering. The two given are as false as the assumption that our churches have ceased to attract. One is that our intelligent people have ceased to believe the dogmas of the Church. It must be met with a simple denial. The other is as amusing as it is amazing. It is that churches make such enormous pecuniary demands on people that they cannot

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afford to go. Seeing that church privileges for a family cost, on an average, in our city churches, less than one moderate smoker's cigars, the weight of this objection can be judged. I should have thought a certain shame would have prevented its being offered. I can assure "A Non-Church-Goer" that church-goers love to give money for what they think will promote education, morality, and religion, and that with them it increases the popularity of a pastor if he is very faithful in urging them to open their pocket-books for benevolence. I must also tell him that I was inclined to regard him as having written not in earnest, and as having attempted only to gather into shape the wildest current prejudices, largely because he gives utterance to this objection to the Church, and because, in doing it, he repeats the quip that it costs a hundred dollars to get five dollars to the heathen. If he had said this deliberately, with intention to be believed, he would have been guilty of slander. The statement is a falsehood, unredeemed by a shadow of evidence. Our missionary societies publish full financial reports; anybody can read them; they are managed by careful business men, and as economically as any other enterprises; and only a small and reasonable percentage is spent for management, a smaller percentage than is spent by our life insurance companies, which do their business at home.

Our non-church-going population, like our church-going, may be divided into its two classes—those who think and those who do not think. Of the latter, the vast majority have inherited or absorbed a general belief in Christianity. They do not go to church simply because the churches have not yet got hold of them. The progress of the churches is reaching them, and will gradually get them. But the thinking non-church-goers are, to a great extent, unapproachable, because they are unbelievers. For their unbelief, however, the churches are, to some considerable extent, responsible. A very great part of them do not believe because believers make Christianity incredible to them by their unconscionable demands on their credulity. Tell a man that he must give up the results of his studies of geology and biology, or give up the Bible, and he will give up the latter, unless he has the sense to know that these dilemma-swingers speak without authority, and are the Church's silly people. If the Church could kill off its *mallei hæreticorum*, there would be far fewer heretics to be hammered.

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But I cannot pause to develop this attractive subject, and to do so would be a concession to "A Non-Church-Goer." What these slaves of tradition say is not what the Church says. The Church is founded not on their traditions, but on Christ Jesus; and the world is accepting Christ Jesus as Master as never before in its history. The churches are full of enthusiasm and zeal. The work of converting the world goes on rapidly. The islands are already evangelized. We have just welcomed Christian Madagascar to our sisterhood of nations. In each successive decade India doubles its Protestant population. Christian nations ruled two hundred millions of people at the beginning of the century. Now they rule six hundred and eighty-five millions. Whether by conversion, colonization, or conquest, the world is rapidly becoming Christian. This is the greatest age for the spread of our faith since the first century. And in the face of all this, with the marvelous enlargement of nominal Christianity all over the globe staring him in the face, and the rapid increase in church communicants under his very nose, our "Non-Church-Goer" shuts his eyes (and his purse) that he may open his mouth and babble about an "antiquated theology," and a Church which "has ceased to attract," and "the majority of intelligent and well-meaning people" who "are weary of the reiteration" of the Church's faith!

WILLIAM HAYES WARD.

REV. DR. PULLMAN.

CHURCH-GOING in the United States is not diminishing, it is increasing—in what ratio to the increase of population can only, at present, be a matter of estimate. The public religious services of the Church have never been so numerously attended as now, nor by so large a proportion of intelligent and responsible people. And the most striking religious phenomenon of the age—the rise of the children's church—makes it certain that religious instruction and worship are more universal among us than ever before. The local exceptions to this statement are dependent on local causes.

That numbers of decent and intelligent people are non-church-goers, is not denied; but if the fact is more frequently deplored than formerly, it is because their position is more clearly seen to be anomalous and deplorable. The Church is

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more keenly alive to its own function, and perhaps to their merits, than ever before; and makes no secret of its strong desire to bring them into the many-mansioned house of worship, love and duty. For this purpose it is ready to make—and, in its splendid Protestant variety, it does make—many adaptations of itself to differences of means, belief, intelligence, and culture; but it can make no concession of the foundation on which its temple stands, and by virtue of which alone it has the right to be. Possibly a slight concession from the other side—some modification of the truculent spirit and the rasping tongue—would make matters easier. It is not conducive to amiable feeling to have the fault-finding non-church-goer call out, in effect: "I am out of your dilapidated and beggarly old ark; and I can stay out, too, for I don't believe there's going to be much of a shower; but if you will let me a pew cheap, and stop preaching things that I don't believe, and not ask me to do or to give anything more, I will come in." This is about what Walt Whitman wanted—a place in which to "loaf, and invite his soul." The position is an untenable one. A church made up of such constituents could have no church-value. The idea of paying your money at the door, without further responsibility, except to be amused or edified, as the case may be, is not the church idea. It is the theater notion; and it only needs the liberty to applaud and hiss in the church to make the resemblance complete. All the malcontents in the Cave of Adullam cannot rear and maintain a church on this idea. The experiment has been tried, by men of exceptional furnishing for the task, and its futility has been demonstrated by recent conspicuous failures.

The position of the self-justifying church-absentee is even less tenable now than formerly. For not only has the Church, in many of its branches, placed itself fully abreast of all the demonstrable progress of the age, but its value to the social organism is more apparent. And the fact stands clearly out, that, with all its imperfections on its head,—its defects of administration, excess of conservatism, and occasional illegitimacy of method,—the Church is the chief bulwark of the social order, the generating center of moral force, the educator, comforter, and inspirer of man, the ladder by which he climbs out of the abyss.

It is quite as idle to consider what humanity might or would be without it, as to inquire whether, in a case of decapitation,

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the head or the body would lose or suffer most. The Church is altogether indispensable to human welfare. And in these brave, bright days of hope and progress, made brave and bright by deeper faith, higher morals, and larger achievement than have ever before blessed mankind, every one who is at all conscious of duty, need, aspiration, or who posesses intelligence, wit, worth, or other power, ought to be in the Church either as penitent, learner, helper, teacher, worshiper, reformer, each or all. Every one who has a stake, small or great, in the social order, is bound to contribute to the cost and sacrifice by which that order is maintained. Organized society, at its best, is but a thin crust over a seething ocean of evil and destructive passions, which continually threaten to break through and destroy. The attempt to keep these formidable passions in check by brute force has always ended in catastrophe. The only method by which society can protect, advance, and bless itself, is the method of conversion, —changing evil into good, its enemies into friends,—and this is the method of Christianity and its church, pursued to-day with tireless energy and sacrifice, under better methods, and with better results than ever before.

Law and government, the ostensible guardians of order, fall into ineptitude unless continually supported and controlled by a sound and vigorous public conscience; and to this conscience the Church is chief tutor. Let it be noted that the amazing intellectual activity of this age, with its unsparing criticism and bewildering conflict of opinion, is not a school of morals. Intellectual vigor can coëxist with moral paralysis. Educated men lie, and thinking men steal, by whatever ingenious periphrasis their skill may disguise their act. Conscienceless intellectual power is only splendid deformity. And the men of this make-up constitute our really "dangerous class" to-day.

It is conspicuously untrue to say that science is doing more for morals than the Church. Science may apply its method to ethics with some valuable results, but it can never supply the adequate moral motive. It is not too soon to claim true science as an ally of religion; but it is also important to note that the pseudo-science of pretentious doctrinaires has done much to confuse and unmoralize the age. That moral character which is the safeguard of society is only formed by the special and methodical training of the individual will.

Now, ignorance, vice, and violence, craft, greed, and fraud

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are the ever-active enemies of society. And the non-voter and the non-church-goer are their allies, the "dead-wood" of the social order. The one makes bad government possible; the other renders moral anarchy not impossible. Both are unfaithful to duty, and virtually claim to be a privileged class,—the gentlemen-pensioners of society. That among the shirkers who cumber the ground of an active and hopeful era, there are men of intelligence and respectability, is admitted. Some of them stand aloof because they profoundly distrust all accepted methods, and have no faith in the proffered substitutes. They seem, to themselves, to stand

> "Between two worlds,
> One dead; the other powerless to be born."

It is this condition, the last result of an over-driven critical faculty, that makes them

> "On the battle-ground of heaven and hell stand palsied."

But this partial excuse does not cover the case of a man who openly justifies his withdrawal from a great interest and institution of society and life, by a pretext which, under analysis, amounts to this: "I have too much brain and too little money to go to church; therefore, I stand aloof." He uses and enjoys the privileges and security of society without contributing to the cost and effort by which they are maintained. Who support the Church? Men and women who greatly care for human welfare. Do they owe the captious and fastidious non-church-goer a Church from which has been eliminated all the beliefs that give it value to them?

A man may call the Church a beggar, and the State a beggar, because they both ask money and service from him; but I know of no more impudent beggary than that which is content to owe its moral welfare and social security to institutions which it freely condemns, but will neither support nor reform. Such men are spendthrifts of the moral capital accumulated by a dutiful and God-reverencing ancestry. And the climax of this kind of thing is reached in the complaint that no provision is made for the spiritual salvation of the great class of reading, thinking, and active men. The fact is that the most of these men are in the Church to-day, deeply interested in its welfare, and trying, at least, to

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work out their salvation in some worthy fashion. Are we to understand that those remaining outside are the supersecular elect, awaiting the revelation of some new principle of spiritual salvation more suitable to their superior position? Alas! in sober truth, brother literate non-church-goer, you shall find no other road to salvation than that which has been trodden by obedient feet in all the times of man. Righteousness is salvation. To perceive and obey the eternal laws, the moral order of the universe where you are at school,—this is the task to which you are set, along with your illiterate and humble brother, from whom you are differenced only by your larger responsibility. Righteousness is salvation; and unrighteousness, though it be reading, thinking, active, and covered foot-thick with culture, is damnation!

It is freely admitted that some of the criticism directed toward the church-dogmas and practices is keen, sound, well-placed, and thoroughly deserved. Much of it, and much of the strongest of it, is from within. "Faithful are the wounds of a friend." The Church is not Christianity, but an instrument for the administration of Christianity; and we very well understand that "we have this treasure in earthern vessels." But much of the outside criticism comes from pure ignorance of the forces actually operating in the Church. Some critics assume a decline of power, for no other apparent reason than to have the pleasure of explaining it. They say society is getting worse, and the Church is failing to arrest the degeneracy. They forebode evil, see rocks ahead, and raise the doleful cry of Cassandra; but the maggot that troubles them is in their own brain. Some minds are dazed over the magnitude and intricacy of modern civilization. But bewilderment is not likely to be clear-sighted. The man who feels safe in a row-boat, would, when transported to the deck of the great iron steamer in mid-ocean, be agitated by strange alarms. Mighty and mysterious forces are throbbing around him; he does not comprehend them; he distrusts, and apprehends disaster. Yet is the great steam-ship safer than the row-boat, carries more, and carries better, moves faster, and, with a firmer precision guides its huge bulk across the vast sea-mountains to its appointed haven. Danger, indeed, there always is, but it is danger better guarded against.

We hear talk of the decay of faith. There is no decay of faith—there is a change for the better in its objects. Nowhere in

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history will you find an age of faith, if this is not one. Timid souls idealize the past, long for the old days, and hug the old ways; but the new are better. Men speak of the decline of religion; but there is no decline of religion. There is a change in theological belief; but that is in the interest of religion. We are to have fewer formulated beliefs, but we are to believe them, with perfect conviction, through and through. There is a rising of other potencies by the side of religion, but they will only relieve it of its usurped functions, leave it free for its appointed work, and become its firm allies. Within the Christian Church to-day, the Augustinian theology is undergoing extensive alterations and improvements, not in deference to outside clamor, but in obedience to that law of progressive self-development which has kept the vast and beneficent organization of the Church flourishing in undiminished potency through so many secular changes. The Church is strengthened, not weakened, by such changes. The Holy Ghost is not a spent force, although

> "The old order changeth, yielding place to new;
> And God fulfils Himself in many ways,
> Lest one good custom should corrupt the world."

Pending these theological reforms within the house, sundry brethren are camping out under temporary shelter-tents, called theism, agnosticism, and the like; while certain others, mistaking the busy sounds of renovation for the tumult of destruction, are shifting as best they can "in the open," awaiting the final downfall of the church, after which they think likely they may take a hand in the edifying of a better one. But the great storm that is to complete the destruction does not come; and on the part of those who have suspended their religious operations to wait for it, there can now be detected a kind of Wigginesque disappointment, so to speak, and a growing disposition to build the tomb of the prophets who have misled them.

The truth is, the wave of doubt and negation, generated by the sudden and vast increase of our knowledge of second causes, which hid from bedazzled eyes for the moment the great first Cause — this wave has spent its force without institutionalizing itself outside the Church. It has washed away much superstition; it has greatly accelerated the change of theological sentiment within the Church. And it has left the real lights of science and philosophy in such a mood of intelligent common

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sense that, were a crisis to declare itself, in which the only issue was "the Church or no Church," they would rally to the defense of the Church at any cost, and against all enemies. It is probable that most of the non-church-goers would do the same; and the really deplorable thing in the present situation is, that they do not, without waiting for a crisis, at once abandon their untenable position, come into the church, and use their intelligence, respectability, and whatever other power they have, where it belongs and can be made effective. For it ought not to escape their intelligent attention, that the Church is really in the hands of the laity. The great Reformation gave the world that boon, and set in motion the forces that will destroy forever the hateful dominance of the priestly hierarchy. In our reformed churches, men of intelligence, character, and convictions readily become influential, and can shape church methods to the needs of these better times. Not that they can successfully meddle with that pure gold of truth which has on it the divine stamp. "Anybody," said the smart and confident student to Dr. Wayland, "can make such proverbs as those of Solomon." "Sit down and make a few!" blandly responds the doctor. There are possibly some things in the Church which even an intelligent and eminently respectable non-church-goer could hardly better. But the laity can put a stop to the "war-whoop" style of preaching. They can abolish all unworthy and beggarly "side-shows." They can change the aspect of the "money-test" concerning which they are so sensitive. In fact, however, such reforms as these, where they were needed, have already been largely accomplished. There is plenty of preaching that is equal to the highest intellectual demands. In mind, scholarship, variety of culture and accomplishment, and in intelligent interest in human affairs outside the dogma, the Christian ministry has never stood so high as now. The supersedure of the priestly by the manhood function of the ministry has greatly increased its influence and value. There are few communities and few intelligent individuals who do not recognize the worth of the Christian minister to society and life.

There never was a time in the Church when character counted for so much and mere money for so little; nor when the man of moderate means could join the congregation with his family, and worship in peace and self-respect at so little relative money-cost.

JAMES M. PULLMAN.

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REV. DR. RYLANCE.

"A Non-Church-Goer" has been a keen observer of certain "signs of the times" affecting the organized religions of the day, and tells his conclusions to the world in a vigorous style. He never condescends to nice qualifications; sees no merit in the subjects of his criticism; seems not to have the slightest suspicion that anything worth hearing can be said on "the other side." But that sort of temper is apt to carry a man beyond the bounds of discretion, in dealing with questions that touch his antipathies, the judgment being biased by angry feeling. We have evidence of some such disturbing influence having been at work in the mind of "A Non-Church-Goer" in his severe castigation of the religious societies about us. His hatred of the deficiencies and follies he sees in those societies has blunted his power of discrimination, men and things being condemned wholesale, so to speak. He starts timely and serious questions for our consideration, but there is little of the judicial temper shown in his discussion of them. Sometimes they are handled in a way that, to many fair and liberal minded men, will appear offensive, I suspect. In such estimate we may fairly hold, I think, his somewhat contemptuous "fling" at the clergy as a class, as being made up of "intellectual light-weights,"—only "the mediocrities of the seminaries" betaking themselves to the pulpit as a calling. So, too, may we esteem his unqualified charge, that the Christian Church "proscribes thought and free inquiry," and that it "cramps the brains of its ministers"; "the superstitious, the narrow, and the morbid" almost wholly composing its congregations to-day, from which "the masculine sex" is rapidly "disappearing." This implies, by the way, a very humiliating reflection upon women.

Now these things are not only in bad taste, but, to a large extent, they are untrue. All professions have weak representatives in their service, the Church having its full share, no doubt; but to speak in a scornful way of the intellectual ability, the learning, the general culture, the liberality, and the broad, pliant sympathy of men in the clerical profession that one could name by the score or by the hundred, is to betray an extraordinary amount of ignorance, or a serious lack of moral honesty. But "A Non-Church-Goer," on second thought, I am sure, would not so speak.

Simply remarking that an exaggerated importance is attached

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to the financial impediments alleged to lie in the way of the men who would, but who do not, go to church, I pass to the consideration of matters of serious importance: for there is so much of pith and point in the contribution of "A Non-Church-Goer," and so pertinent are many of his animadversions on existing conditions and tendencies in the religious world, that we can well afford to overlook indiscretions into which his impetuousness has led him.

Some of the things he emphasizes and complains of it were well worth while for the churches of our time to take heed to. It is high time that their rulers should cease to assume that men and women outside their "folds" are "totally depraved"; or that a defective creed necessarily means an immoral life; or that eternal damnation inevitably follows from refusing to accept all that the Church prescribes as essential to salvation. Let preachers have done with casting discredit upon "mere morality"; let them frankly and at once give up all of what tradition has handed down to us that a sober criticism has proved to be incredible; and let the "fundamentals" of belief be reduced to a minimum, leaving "ample room and verge enough" for inquiring minds to play freely round all matters of "uncertain obligation." Touching these things, I heartily sympathize with the feeling of "A Non-Church-Goer," the fact being obvious to an honest discernment that there is a vast amount of fine intelligence and of moral worth in the world which acknowledges no allegiance to ecclesiastical authorities, and for which the Church must provide some fitter doom than the "final fire."

I accept, also, the leading assumption of "A Non-Church-Goer" as in the main sound; for it is notorious that a very considerable number of men in Christian countries are to-day indifferent to the claims and calls of the Church, and it may be—though this I am inclined to doubt—that the number is rapidly increasing. I care not to go to statistics or to census tables for proof or disproof of the assumption. Every Christian pastor knows, to his sorrow, the reluctance of men to submit themselves to any sort of ecclesiastical yoke. Fathers and sons are often absent from church, when mothers and daughters are there. Or if now and then present, from motives of expediency, men very often stand aloof from the real worship and work of the Church, or they look on with a sort of distant

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respect; many of those who thus far conform to Church usages having very little faith, there is reason to fear, in what is ordinarily said and done in our synagogues. Thus the case, as it presents itself to me, though not as bad as our critic represents it, is still very bad. There is, no doubt, a great deal in the world about us to-day to lend countenance to the cant one hears about religion being an affair for women and children only.

This indifference to Church claims exhibited by "the masculine sex" has doubtless resulted, in part from conditions and causes alleged by "A Non-Church-Goer." Men are unquestionably less dependent to-day upon the clergy for moral teaching and guidance than they once were, while they hold many of the dogmas of theology, once generally and fervently believed in, to be nothing better than ingenious refinements or conceits. And this being the just mental attitude of many men toward things that the Church is supposed to indorse, it is not strange, considering how little sound logic there is in the world, that all that the Church insists upon is by some supposed to be just as unreliable; and hence blank infidelity.

But there are other things that repel men from the portals of the Church, or which make church-going a weariness sometimes to men who nevertheless will go. The best that can be said of "the service," as a whole, often is that it is a capital discipline for patience. There is such an absence of evidence, at times, of any well-defined purpose having brought a congregation together, that a suspicion of the unreality of the whole business will now and then steal over a thoughtful on-looker. Then there is the dreary, mechanical reading of the Scriptures that one occasionally still encounters, with such a want of fitness often in the selections read to the conditions and actual needs of men to-day. Then the preaching is too often about men, or issues that are no longer of importance in the world's regard, the preacher waxing warm in defense of some fiction of theology or other, or trying to interest his hearers in some barren bit of ecclesiasticism. These things are hard to bear by men of intelligence who go to church, while they doubtless deter some men from going. In simple fairness it should be said, however, I think, that such afflictions are but seldom encountered to-day; for our preachers, as a class, it may be justly claimed, are not only sincere and earnest, but discerning and intellectually alert.

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The things just enumerated, then, make up, in my judgment, a substantial installment toward an answer to the question, why so many men stand aloof from the Church to-day, or show it only a formal respect. But there are items of importance still to be added—items which I find in "the tendencies of the age." Against these tendencies "it is useless to fight," however, says our "Non-Church-Goer," assuming that they are always and invariably good; whereas, to me, some of the most dominant of them seem to be desperately bad. Of one thing experience makes us well aware, of the fact, namely, that there are powerful influences at work in life as we know it, that indispose men from thinking seriously about the things of religion, and which harden them against all its appeals and constraints. Men are absorbed, for example, in the pursuit of material interests as they never were before, making life for many a fierce and continuous contention, and so leaving little time, and less inclination in them, for the quest after "the true riches." Then the rapid increase of wealth in the nations of Christendom has begotten sensuous tastes in multitudes, who accordingly prefer to worship in the opera-house rather than in the church. Or if the Church is to win them on one day out of seven, it must bid for their patronage by furnishing similar attractions to those that the opera supplies. Now, will not any sensible and observant man living in New York to-day, or familiar with the life of any of the great cities of Christendom, say that these things, with those before specified, have much more to do with the prevalent neglect of church claims than the discoveries of science have, or than the assaults of an iconoclastic infidelity? Many men of some Christian faith are, no doubt, seriously disturbed by these; some may have lost all confidence in the distinctive truths of Revelation, and have consistently ceased from all show of respect for the Church. But the cases are comparatively few, I suspect, either because men have so little time to look into scientific or critical objections to religious truth, or because, having looked, they find that there is nothing in the objections that discredits any essential element in that truth, and so they conclude, for awhile longer, to "lag behind the age."

I, for one, have little fear for Christianity or for the Church, from "the march of intellect," or from the advance of science; science, as I understand it, making no pretensions to be considered a rival of Christianity, nor having anything to offer

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as a substitute for the Gospel of Jesus Christ. There is a good deal of a hazy sort of doubt abroad just now, begotten very largely by rumors of what research and criticism have done to discredit the doctrines and institutions of religion. But a great deal of the babblement one hears to-day about "progress" is really afflicting to discerning souls, science having as yet done literally nothing to unsettle a single essential article of the Christian faith or to weaken a single hope which that faith inspires. As long as the Church continues to embody and to teach that faith, even though very imperfectly, it will not cease to attract the confidence and reverence of mankind. As long as sin and misery are in the world, some other and better method of dealing with them and of healing them will be necessary than is known to the civil magistrate or to the police authorities.

To anticipate anything like a speedy collapse, therefore, of ecclesiastical organizations is, in my judgment, simply silly. Predictions of some such issue have been often let loose in the social air, but little has come of them. It is amusing to read to-day M. Comte's large concession, that his followers might occupy Christian temples as they should fall into disuse, seeing how few have "changed hands" in the interval of half a century. There is a good deal in and about the churches to provoke men of progressive views to anger; but no sensible man will contend that an institution otherwise good may be discarded, simply because it is not always worthily represented; else what ground of respect would be left for any institution or instrument of civil society? Claims that the Church may be disbanded can only be reasonably preferred when it has been shown that the work it has professed to do may be done better, or that it is actually being better done, by some other instrumentality. "A Non-Church-Goer" seems to hint in one place that such is now the fact, where he tells us that "science is to-day doing more for morality than the Church"—one of his rashly impetuous utterances. Yet even he feels the need of a ministry for his "higher nature," which need science does not meet, we must infer. Where else, then, will he look for it? What school or society of men, other than the Christian Church, makes any sort of pretension of supplying the need? None that I know. While, touching interests of a more tangible sort, it may be claimed for the Christian Church, I believe, in spite of all its defects and failures,

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that its disappearance would prove to be a widely-felt disaster. It inspires gentle and humane feelings into men, women, and children as no other institution or agency even pretends to have the capacity of doing; it preaches, and to a large extent practically applies, the doctrine of human brotherhood, urging persistently the duty of mutual helpfulness; it prescribes a wholesome discipline for individual and collective life; educates men in practical virtues; and begets an enthusiasm for goodness in multitudes of men and women which makes itself felt in the outlying world. The Church is even charged with intemperance in the vastness and the costliness of the enterprises she undertakes in behalf of degraded tribes of mankind abroad, and in the manifold provision she makes for the ignorant and helpless at home. Her theologies in parts may be "antiquated,"—"dry leaves,"—but her religion has been, and is, a thing of life and power.

J. H. RYLANCE.

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